

INSIDE: SHERE HITE'S REPORT ON LOVE AND SEX

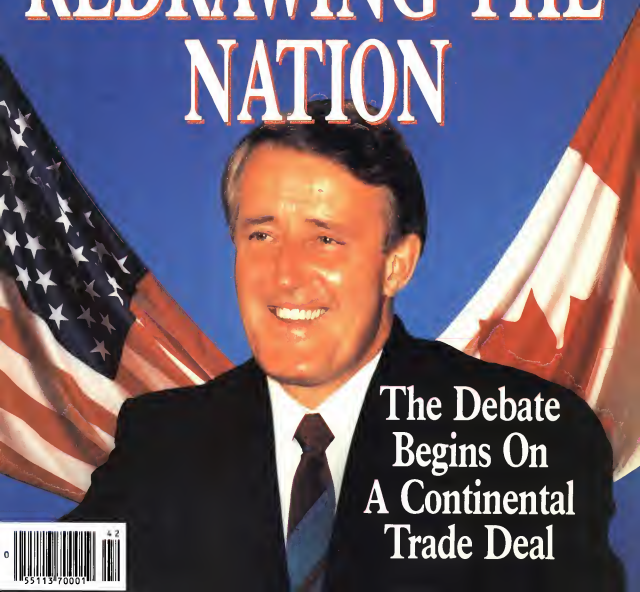
# Maclean's

OCTOBER 19, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## REDRAWING THE NATION



The Debate  
Begins On  
A Continental  
Trade Deal





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

**Maclean's**

OCTOBER 19, 1997, VOL. 138 NO. 42

## COVER

### Redrawing the nation

In the wake of the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States, Canadians of every political stripe found an increasingly heated national debate about how the pact would change the shape of the country in years to come. Opinions were sharply divided. Declared pollster Angus Reid of Winnipeg: "The battle for the hearts and minds of Canada has begun." —Page 44



### The battles of Judge Bork

Despite the near-certainty of Senate rejection, President Reagan's exultant Supreme Court nominee, Judge Robert Bork, last week refused to fight on. —Page 39



### Fleet Street's shake-out

The success of the one-year-old independent and a potential takeover battle are two of many forces now shaking up the one-way world of Britain's press barons. —Page 36



### Shere Hite's new report

For her latest book on sex and love, Shere Hite asked American women, "Are you happy with the relationship?" The overwhelming response: "No." —Page 46

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### The case for the defence

Edward Greenpan, one of Canada's best-known criminal lawyers, leads a team of lawyers defending major-league pitcher Ferguson Jenkins, accused of a drug offence in 1996. —Page 48



## A continental market

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his team of trade negotiators have handed Canadians a challenge that they cannot easily duck. At the same time, he has presented it in a way that makes a positive response difficult. Having struck a broad but still largely undefined trade accord with the United States, he is now asking for the nation's support—before the critical details are negotiated. That is a request for nothing less than what Liberal Leader John Turner describes as a signature on a "blank cheque." But regardless of the questionable process through which the accord was reached, the cheque is one that Canadians and their representatives really have no choice but to endorse.

The urge to form a continental market, which is almost certain to involve Mexico, is older than Canada itself. It is a theme born of necessity, not romanticism or greed. As Canada became more and more industrialized and dependent on exports, and as the available markets narrowed, the possibility of choosing among several alternative trade areas disappeared. When all the inflated rhetoric is stripped away, Canada has two trade choices. It can maintain the status quo and leave itself vulnerable to every protectionist barrier that the Americans choose to erect. In that position the high standard of living that many Canadians currently enjoy will almost certainly deteriorate. The second choice is the one that Mulroney has presented in broad outline.

A free trade accord is not a guarantee of prosperity. But it does provide a set of rules under which both countries can shape and build a secure future, protecting those aspects of national life that are sacred to nationhood. And with history as a guide, it is certain that, if the current accord is not accepted, the need for a more accessible export market would force Canada to reopen the discussion in the future. With current American trade trends as a guide, it would almost certainly do so from a weaker position than it now enjoys. There is when Canadian culture, indeed Canadian independence itself, would be in terrible jeopardy.

*Kevin Doyle*

MARTIN'S OCTOBER 1992

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## LETTERS

## Walking on waves

The bag is a universal veterinary in Ontario may turn out to be David Peterson's worst nightmare. "The bag red wave," Cover, Sept. 11) With that many sales, people are going to expect him to walk on water. The economic expansion is going into its sixth year, and auto sales are already slowing. If Peterson thinks he can keep the Auto Pact as is while the United States has a multibillion-dollar auto trade deficit, he is really a babe in the woods. The good times in Ontario are financed by the rest of Canada, which is forced to buy overpriced eastern manufactured goods and to sell cheap agricultural products to the U.S. Peterson is getting a lot of credit for the good times, but that is going to end in a year or two. —DONALD R. CHASE

### Bridging an impossible gap

Berbara Jansen's column "High drama in the world of film" (Sept. 20) was a biased and largely misinformed account of Telefilm Canada's strategy of cost-sharing funding to the producers of the TV series *Mount Royal*. It was also an unjustified attack on the employees of Telefilm Canada, including its executive director, Peter Pearson. While the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) does not agree with every decision made by Telefilm, by and large Telefilm's operations are professionally administered and its decisions fair. It is simply not true that the agency is staffed by misanthropic artists who want to play producer and interfere, as Arnold Aspin, Peter Pearson has



Balance credit for the period ended

honorable record in our industry as an artist and should be commended for now choosing to serve the industry at Telefilm.

Peter Peterson is no grey-haired silly senile. He is a dynamic and successful entrepreneur, someone who bridges the gap between big business and the Third World. He is a leader and a sensitive, occasionally controversial, artistic community. All things considered, he is doing a tough job very well. This is not to say that someone's parties should be held at his residence, or that he is the Canadian Ambassador in Washington. He has quite a variety of duties with Peacock. But, certainly, he is capable and motivated by excellent intentions. Ahead's fight into personal attack is unwarranted.

—WILL SOMMER

Senior Vice-President (Television)  
Canadian Association of Broadcasters,  
Ottawa

## Footnotes to history

an agent and lathered to be re-elected again in Allan Fotheringham's column ("Decadence and presidents," Sept. 28) as the neglected author Pierre Trudeau's most memorable phrase ("The state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation"). For the record, however, Fotheringham erred in his ways. It was not Trudeau's columnists who threw an asterisk to O'Malley. An asterisk indeed appeared in *Canada's Concise Canadian Quotations*, giving me full credit for my afternoon apophysis while writing editorials for *The Globe and Mail* way back in December, 1965. Richard Grey also acknowledged me as the source, not in his *Canada's Most Famous Quotations*, but in his *Canada's Most Famous Quotations*. I followed him like a puppy. How it will be on my headstone.

—MARTIN O'MALLEY

## PASSAGES

**HEE. Wier**, former U.S. congresswoman and ambassador **Clary Booth Lee**, 84, of cancer, in Washington, D.C. Lee, the widow of publisher and Times magazine founder **Henry Lee**, was one of the most influential women of her generation. As a journalist she was an editor at *Forty Four and Eighty* and a correspondent for *Time*. During World War II, as a politician she served two terms, from 1943 to 1947, in the House of Representatives as a Republican from Connecticut, and from 1951 to 1957 she was ambassador to Italy. As a playwright, Lee's greatest success was *The Women*, an actor-biased study of high-society women.

Active in her 80s, Lee was a member of the National Council on Aging, the Spencer Advisory Board, a panel designed to assess U.S. foreign intelligence abroad.

**EXCITED** Former Miss America Bess Myerson, 65, former New York City cultural affairs commissioner, by a federal grand jury, for allegedly using her position to influence the judge at the divorce of her Italian-born boyfriend Carl (Andy) Spallone, 45, who is now in jail serving a four-year term for an unrelated tax evasion conviction. Myerson, Miss America in 1940, is accused of improperly obtaining a job by the judge's daughter in return for a reduction in the \$2,025-a-week temporary maintenance and child support payments. Claims had to do with ex-wife.

**FOUND** Northern bush pilot Marten Hartwell, 62, alive and well, two days after his plane crashed and disappeared, walking along a coastline in a remote wilderness near Braccetti Lake, N.W.T., 1,400 km northwest of Edmonton. In 1972 Hartwell survived for 32 days after his plane crashed en route to Yellowknife from Cambridge Bay, N.W.T., and he ate the flesh of one of the three passengers who died.

**DEED** The first president of Wilfrid Laurier University, Rev. Dr. Frank C. Peters, 67, of a heart attack, in Kitchener, Ont. Although the Ukrainian-born Messianic-church man quit school at the age of 15, he later earned two degrees, including two doctorates. He served as president of Wilfrid Laurier from 1968, when it was Waterloo Lutheran University, until his retirement in 1978.

**DEAD** Acclaimed French dramatist **Jean Anouilh**, 73, of a heart attack, in Lausanne, Switzerland. During a career that spanned more than half a century, Anouilh's works were translated into more than two dozen languages. His best-known play, *Antigone*, is a modern, darkly comical version of the classical Greek tragedy.



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### It is only a winning game

Why on earth did Canada's national newspaper choose to put a picture of a Soviet hockey player wearing on Canadian goaltender Grant Fuhr ("Two finalists worthy of the Cup," Sports, Sept. 21)? This is a ridiculous choice when you consider the national pride that went into the series as well as the phenomenal talent of the players on the team—Fuhr being perhaps the main reason Canada remained competitive and eventually won the tournament. There were so many outstanding plays by Canada's Wayne Gretzky and Mario Lemieux. Surely you could have chosen a picture to reflect their talent, even if your picture had shown Fuhr making a save. But no, let's not be too proud of ourselves. We're only Canadians.

—MIKE EITTS  
Brimley, Ont.

After all the combacks Canada made in the Canada Cup, what do we see but a picture of a Russian scoring a goal? What happened to the winning goal by Gretzky and Lemieux in the last game?

—JAMES W. HARRIS  
Dedham, N.B.

### Culturally extroverted dialogue

Let us hope that dialogue will continue between the Hawks and the Trans-



Messie, Gretzky: outshining plays

phone residents of Outremont, Que. ("A collusive of editors," *Outremont*, Sept. 14). We want all letters to live with each other, to accept our differences, to tolerate occasional disturbances caused by minorities. Let us not become an introverted society that feels threatened by anything different. All cultures are rich and interesting.

—LOUISE LAMARCA  
Outremont

### Locating the first time

In "It was the best of times" (Sports, Sept. 14), on Ben Johnson's world-record-breaking 100-m run, you said that the first sub-four-minute mile by Roger Bannister was run in Vancouver. I cannot let him (and my) great university be cheated of the honor. That first mile was run at the Wiley Road grounds at Oxford with Bannister's close friends Christopher Chataway and Chris Brasher acting as pacesetters. The Vancouver run was the second.

—MICHAEL LAMUCK  
Oxford

### Never a discouraging word

Often, people write only to complain about inaccurate reporting. I am writing to express appreciation for a balanced and interesting article about our industry ("An old horse on the range,"

Dundas, Abbey, Sask., Aug. 17). You captured very nicely some of the traditionalism of the cattle industry with some of today's realities.

—CHARLES A. GRACEY  
Executive Vice-President,  
Canadian Cattlemen's Association,  
Toronto

### Directions to the fast lane

I thought it was appropriate that Charles Gordon's column "Living nowhere in the fast lane" (Sept. 7) should appear in the same issue as the article on the new fears of today's children and youth ("Growing pains," Cover). On every front, kids are encouraged to mimic their yuppie parents in the race for the top. They have become as style-conscious as their parents, wearing \$50 haircuts and \$50 jeans. When I hear about life in the fast lane, I am reminded of a classic line by the character Norm Peterson on *Cheers*. When asked, "How's life in the fast lane, Norm?" he replies, "I don't know, I can't find the on-ramp."

—STEPHEN CHENE  
Ottawa

### The power of the imagination

If ever I was lulled into underestimating the pervasiveness of violence in our society, you snapped me out of it with "Domestic drama that hits home" (Theatre, Aug. 17). I must truly be part of the "old-

fashioned" — kitchen-sink realism that is Rylth (Not To Marry), because I had that my imagination is more than capable of creating whatever violence is called for by any Rylth Theatre script without having my nose rubbed in "the more unsettling realities of life," as you so gently put it. Commenting on *Black Fire*, your critic noted that "disappointingly, the play's most interesting events—including an impoverished squatter's murder of his wife and children—take place offstage." If the play *Black Fire* demonstrates "squaresness about violence," I guess you'll just have to count me in as one of those who was squashed, and I hope I stay that way. I'm profoundly grateful for the excellent drama presented this year at the Rylth Festival; it challenges my mind and pleases my senses. Let's hope it stays that way too.

—SUSIE CLARKE  
Lacrosse, Ont.

### Saving baby and bath water

I am writing in response to your article about the Workers' Compensation Board ("A system under scrutiny," Jan. 29). CHIMES of the board and the inadequate handling of work claims has spawned workers' rights groups in some provinces. As the article implies, the courts may well strike down provisions in work legislation that deprive workers

of the right of access to the ordinary courts to seek compensation in cases of work injuries. However, the prospect of replacing these boards with employee-funded private insurance may prove an inappropriate and inadequate alternative. Those concerned with this issue, including the courts, should be careful not to throw out the baby with the bath water. The answer does not lie in the destruction of the work system but—as suggested by Lorraine Smith in the article—is an improvement of the system.

—JACKSON L. OBERGHEER  
Toronto

### In the contested line of duty

It is strange that Const. David Packer is being considered for "following orders" by refusing to assist Dr. Henry Morgentaler's abortion clinic, yet we have no trouble considering Neil Butcher for "following orders" during the Holocaust ("Conscience over duty," Canada, Sept. 21). Surely we must consider people like Packer who take courageous stands in the face of misplaced condemnation.

—ROBERT McGRATH  
Sydney, N.S.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's Magazine, Maclean's Building, 777 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A7.



IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND  
IT'S BUSINESS AS USUAL.



UNTIL NOVEMBER 12.

# A master's sharp eye

With his thin nose-white beard and mass of white hair, Robertson Davies is an immediately recognizable figure. One of North America's most prominent literary figures, Davies, 74, is also a playwright and until 1981 taught drama at the University of Toronto, where he is still master emeritus of Massey College. But Davies is best known for his novels, including *The Deptford Trilogy*, which has been published in 22 languages. His most recent novel, *What's Bred in the Bone* (1984), is scheduled to become a 1985 Canadian television mini-series. And last February Davies won the New York-based National Arts Club's prestigious Medal of Honor for Literature. Massey's correspondent Ron Squires recently interviewed Davies in his Massey College office.

**Massey's:** Do you see your books as belonging to any particular genre?

**Davies:** I regard them as romances, not as realistic tales at all. I think that there is far more truth possible through romance than there is through a sort of gritty, realistic piece, of which we

get a welcome amount nowadays.

**Massey's:** *Manor* is an outstanding feature in your work. Does that reflect the way you see the world?

**Davies:** Yes, but it was not adopted by me; it was something that I grew up with. I was brought up in an atmosphere of ironic observation. You see, my father

*'One of the bugbears of modern life is too much rationalism, too little easy interplay with the world of the unseen'*

ly was a newspaper family, and in newspapers you know a lot about things that you simply couldn't print. You know what I'm behind some apparently unimportant happenings. Consequently, intelligent newspaper people—and my father was a very intelligent newspaperman—have a very very attitude toward life and circumstances. They know

that what you can write about is just the thing on a very rich, frothy, witty and sophisticated case.

**Massey's:** With your next novel, you will complete your third trilogy. Do you know before you begin that it will take three books to work out a concept?

**Davies:** No, I don't start with one book, and then if that one develops, there appears to be material which would go better in another book. And that happens a third time. I suppose if you were self-indulgent you could just go on ploughing around with the same group of characters for a long time.

**Massey's:** Do the arts of the dramatist and the novelist overlap?

**Davies:** Inevitably they do. [American turn-of-the-century novelist] Henry James always said, "Dramatic, dramatic, dramatic." And it is even more important now than it was in Henry James's day, because the effort of action and teleology on the reading public is very great. Now you tend to write leaving out a lot of fat, which you need to put in, in order to get your reader from one place to another.

**Massey's:** His teleology, then, had a negative effect on the modern-day novel?

**Davies:** There is a temptation, which I think has to be resisted, to write your novel with television in view. A very striking example of that was [British

writer] John Mortimer's last novel, *Pandora's Postponed*. And it was a much better novel than it was a novel.

**Massey's:** Would you agree with one of the characters in your 1981 novel *The Rebel Angels*, who recommends looking outside the academic world for wisdom?

**Davies:** You must find wisdom everywhere. If you think you're going to find knowledge only in the halls of learning, you're going to have a pretty thin meal on your table. Now, in the university you must very many learned men, and the thing I say about it once is, what has your learning done for your life? And sometimes it's a pitiful result. You find the immensely learned man who lives a sort of monastic, thin, poor, washed-out life. The university can give you a lot of training, which provides another window on the world. But you mustn't think it's the only window.

**Massey's:** Do you believe that supernatural beings and occult powers, which abound in your work, have an actual presence in the world?

**Davies:** They're palpable on a great many levels. And this is one of the things that education does—it gives you a greater and richer variety of ghosts. Something prehistoric happens, and you think, "What would [18th-century essayist] Dr. [Samuel] Johnson have said about that?" Something else happens and you say, "Oh, yes, Shakespeare said

that about it." And these are ghosts, present in your mind. There are other ghosts—everybody has their personal ghosts. I think that one of the bugbears of modern life is too much rationalism, too little easy interplay with the world of the unconscious and the unseen.

**Massey's:** Do you believe that things happen according to a grand design?

**Davies:** I think that there are elements of meaningful coincidence in life, which you can't avoid unless you're very blind. I don't pretend to have a system, but I am hopeful and watchful and attentive to what goes on, in order to catch any hints that I can of what the scheme might be.

**Massey's:** Can the reading or writing of fiction help in response and empathetic elements of one's scheme?

**Davies:** Yes, indeed. What I try to do, because I feel I write first and foremost for Canadians, is to hint, to suggest, that there is extremely backward about looking at such things, that these elements exist in life—and it would be a good thing for us as individuals and as a nation to keep an eye on them, because I think that not only people, but coun-

tries, have destinies. It is important to have some idea of what the destiny of your country is and not let it fly along and be, perhaps, destroyed by some other country—simply because you have not been aware of what might be in wait.

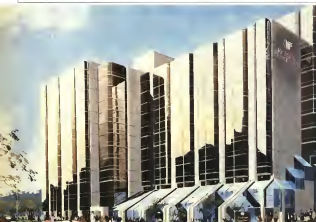
**Massey's:** Do you think that people in power today is smarter when they describe the importance of national destiny?

**Davies:** I think that this has happened very markedly in the United States.

There, writers have been very much an element in a recognition, among a large part of the population, of what the country is and what it might do. It was exceedingly flattered in New York earlier this year when Mr. Robert MacNeil, of the *NBC's* *Lectern* program, was making a speech at an affair where I got [The National Arts Club] award. He said that I was attempting to do what Joyce said he was trying to do, to change the way the world is. I don't make any pretense to that, but it is a thing that a serious writer has to think about. You're not just writing to amuse—though you must amuse, if you want any-



Davies 'telepresence'





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body to pay any attention to you  
**Maclean's:** How your work ever been  
cramped?

**Senack:** Recently, I got a letter that  
unwound me very much from Poland.  
They had asked to publish the Deyfard  
books and wrote to say that they were  
bringing out *Fifth Business*, but that I  
would find that some considerable  
passions had been cut because they would  
be offensive to people of strong religious  
faith. Well, I wrote back rather sharply  
to the publisher and said that I was very

more than what lies within your actual  
scope.

**Maclean's:** In all your work, every ac-  
tion has repercussions, even if they ap-  
pear 500 pages later. Does your art in-  
volve the symmetry of life as you are it?

**Davies:** Yes, I do feel that I do see  
chickens coming home to roost and  
burnt children fearing the fire, and I  
feel that there is a great deal more shape  
to life than people in general are pre-  
pared to admit. We do not ourselves  
shape and condition our lives as care-  
ful-



With economist John Kenneth Galbraith in 1969 'not just writing in anger'

sorry for Poland, because it had to put  
up not only with the ownership of its  
Soviet masters but with the ownership  
of the Catholic Church.

**Maclean's:** What were religion and the  
question of free will play in your  
fiction?

**Davies:** I've thought all my life a good  
deal about religion. I was brought up as a  
Presbyterian. As a child I was curious and  
wanted to know what they really believed,  
and so I read the Westminster Confes-  
sion, which is the 17th-century statement  
of what Presbyterianism is. Well, it would  
make your hair stand on end: you haven't  
got a chance. Everything is laid out for  
you, and struggle however you like, your  
salvation or damnation is predetermined.  
[He] do think that there are elements in  
our life—and it's fashionable now to  
speak of them as gnosés—that make it  
impossible for you to do some things that  
you might dearly like to do. I might like to  
be an extraordinarily beautiful woman  
and the mistress of kings, but I'm not  
going to be that. You have to get up every  
morn'g with what you get, you can't do

ly or as completely as a good many  
people would like to suppose. I often  
ponder on that story of the American  
Indian who told an anthropologist, I  
think that there is somewhere a dream-  
er, and he is dreaming on 'That poetic  
attitude is not my own. But there is more  
sense in that than there is in the notion  
that everybody hacks out their own des-  
tiny with whatever life has given them.  
**Maclean's:** Do you see fiction as that  
only—on therapy or self-analysis?

**Davies:** All fiction is autobiographical,  
but the process of working out your  
personal troubles and confronting your  
own demons is a lifelong thing, and you  
cannot hope to do it as the course of  
writing a single book.

**Maclean's:** In *What's Bred in the Bone*,  
the protagonist finally attains what you  
call his 'myth.' Does everyone have a  
personal myth to achieve?

**Davies:** Yes, they do. It's a thing that  
grows, and most of us get to be pretty old  
before we get any notion of what our  
myth might be. It's a long, long  
struggle. □



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## Under a dark shadow

Belle Glade, Fla. (population 20,000), got the nickname "AIDS capital of the United States" in 1980. At the time, it was the subject of a disturbing study which showed that the town had an extraordinarily high number of acquired immune deficiency syndrome sufferers, largely because of intravenous

drug abuse and sexual activity. The number of reported AIDS cases had reached 75 by last spring, or a rate of 396 per 100,000—compared with 384 in San Francisco, which has consistently shown the highest rate of any regularly monitored U.S. city. By late last month the Belle Glade figure was up to 93, or

an alarming 465 per 100,000—inspiring an unprecedented health campaign involving the town's churches and voodoo priests. And there are already signs that the program may be having an impact among the impoverished and largely illiterate residents of Belle Glade—many of them farm workers.

Most of Belle Glade's AIDS cases are among the Haitians, American blacks, Jamaicans and Hispanics living in a 20-block downtown area. These groups have literacy rates as high as 90 per cent, and they are generally suspicious of outsiders. As a result, the Campaign Against AIDS Program (CAAP) has been awarded \$3 million in private and government funding to address direct care and education needs until 1991. CAAP specialists approached five of the community's most popular voodoo priests to ask for their help in reaching the Haitian community—20 per cent of the population—and said that they hope to make similar contacts among the folk healers of the Hispanic community. Bessie GAF international director David Conroy: "They wanted to know, 'Why are you talking to us? We can't cure AIDS.' We said, 'Don't feel bad, neither can we.'"

Among the problems encountered by social workers was the fact that some AIDS patients whose symptoms temporarily disappeared thought that they were cured and resumed their previous sex and drug-use habits. Conroy and the voodoo priests worked out an explanation, based on the voodoo belief in spirits, to address this trend. The priests taught that some spirits are unbalanced and deceive people into believing that they are cured. At the same time, social workers have sought the cooperation of the town's 30 shamans of various denominations in an attempt to overcome suspicion. Said Spencer Lutz, program supervisor for the state AIDS education program: "The idea that someone not from the community would be effective is totally out of date."

Social workers say that their efforts appear to be bearing fruit. Russell Aguerre, for one, said that Belle Glade's citizens are becoming increasingly well-informed about the deadly disease. Aguerre, who works with pregnant women and new mothers, told Modiano's that she was being asked "more and better questions about AIDS." Among them: what the symptoms are, how to be treated and how to get condoms, which reduce the risk of sexual transmission. But problems still remain. Conroy claimed that no local dentists will treat AIDS victims because they fear contracting the disease. And with reported AIDS cases still increasing, Belle Glade continues to live under the cloud of its grim statistics.

—MARK KIRILANSKY in Belle Glade



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## Into the glare of success

The huge, colorful paintings almost overwhelmed the gallery where they were hanging last month in fashionable West Hollywood. *Art Patron* circulated with glasses of California wine, chatting as they studied the art canvases. Most of the paintings were as tall as their creator, Vancouver-born painter Peter Aspell, 68. A trim man in a white linen suit, with always greying hair and a reddish beard, Aspell seemed happily in the midst of his work at the Wade Gallery. Within 36 hours three of his 12 canvases on display were sold—at an average price of \$1,000. Wade Gallery co-owner Ronald Kratz, another Canadian, said that as Aspell painting in his window even caused several passing drivers to brake in a sudden stop for a look. Less than a year after his first show at a major gallery, Aspell has been accepted into the enclave of artists who compete for art buyers in wealthy Los Angeles. Stud Aspell, snoring his new celebrity. "I never thought it was going to happen."

Buyers at the prestigious Chicago International Art Fair last May also

snapped up seven of eight Aspell paintings on display, an unusual event in an artist's first appearance there. And Toronto art dealer Walter Moss is showing Aspell's paintings at his galleries in Toronto and New York. Striking colors and shapes distinguish Aspell's art. "His ability and confi-

**After years of being unknown, Aspell has been accepted into the enclave of artists who compete for wealthy art buyers**

dence with paint is a joy," said Moss, who agreed to display Aspell's work as soon as he saw it last January. On Aspell's huge canvases—a size of six by 4½ feet is common—primitive images seem to float in pools of color, layered generously with a palette knife. "The size gives the forms the ability to float," Aspell explained in an

interview, adding, "I am not a detailed painter." He said that he draws inspiration from his impressions of the primitive aspects of Africa and the Far East, although he has never travelled there. Vortarisms of African tribal objects appear frequently in his paintings—as do disembodied heads, stylized trees, and figures with skinny bodies and long limbs.

Aspell's recognition has emerged only after decades of obscurity as an artist. His great-great-uncle on his father's side was 19th-century German court painter Franz Winterhalter, but he somehow fully located in other artists. Aspell taught hundreds of students during 29 years at the Vancouver Art School. Then, in 1973 he opened his own art school in Vancouver, but it floundered eight years later. And in the 1960s and 1970s, Aspell recalled, he felt that critics regarded him as an introvert who painted only sporadically—he had six children and was battling the emotional strain of an unhappy second marriage. "Unfortunately," Aspell said, "I just sort of rooted away."

Then, nine months ago one of Aspell's daughters, interior designer Emily Aspell, started showing commercial galleries in Toronto, where she lives, with several of her father's small paintings—quick drafts of



Aspell: oil paintings distinguished by their size, striking colors and shapes.

planned works—in hand. Moss, who has been an art dealer for 28 years, agreed to show them at his Gallery Moss in fashionable Yorkville—and they sold out in three days. Said Moss: "I feel like I have discovered

a 68-year-young artist."

Aspell said that he has never felt at home in the Vancouver art scene. "The theme on the West Coast is landscape," he declared, "and I have never been taken seriously." But he acknowl-

edged that a sense of the wilderness has found its way into his work. "When I was young I would walk through the woods and feel that primal force," said Aspell. "You could throw yourself down on the ground and have a heartbreak. The primitive is always with me." That symbolism earned Hollywood screenwriter Jack Kopp Jr. into an Aspell fan. Kopp, whose hit movie scripts include *Top Gun*, has owned an Aspell painting for eight months. "Every day I look at it," Kopp said. "It seems like the first time." And the informal studies are also popular: the Los Angeles branch of U.S. investment bank Donald Rumsfeld Lambert Inc. recently purchased five for its collection.

Aspell, who lives in Vancouver and paints daily, has vowed to make the most of his newfound fame. "I am more excited now," he said. "It is only in the last few years that nothing can knock me off my course." Indeed, on Oct. 30 another solo show opened at the Gallery Moss in New York City's SoHo district, where it will run until early November. For Aspell, it is no more a series of new challenges and rewards. "I have been blessed to blossom creatively at 68 years of age," he said. "I am bursting to get on with it."

—ANNE GREGG in Los Angeles

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## FOLLOW-UP

### Insiders on the make

He wears regulation prison garb and sneakers to H&M—yet the plump, bespectacled inmate serving two years at a U.S. penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pa., is more accustomed to thousand-dollar suits and Manhattan bank account numbers. The convict of Dennis Levine, now 34, on four counts of illegal stock trading on Wall Street 17 months ago, began a flood of revelations about insider trad-

ing to several arrests on Wall Street, and as yet, no one is certain that there will be more. Indeed, in recent months magazine and newspaper reports have focused on takeover specialist Daniel Barnham and the information about mergers to which his chief financier—among them merger wizard Michael Milken—may have access. Daniel has publicly denied any wrongdoing, however. Meanwhile, in response to corpo-



Boosky: widespread speculation about new leads and arrests is months to come

rate lobbying against Wall Street's insider power, 22 bills proposing tighter merger and takeover laws have been introduced in Congress this year. Another result of the Wall Street scandal is a proposal, submitted to Congress two months ago by the SEC, outlining a legal definition of insider trading—only vaguely defined in U.S. statutes. The definition makes the "wrongful use . . . of information" in selling or purchasing stock illegal and goes on to state that wrongful use could, among other things, involve renegeing on an obligation "arising from fiduciary, personal or other relationships."

Wall Street observers are concerned that the definition could implicate everyone from business reporters to proofreaders. Still, North America's five-year-old takeover frenzy is still going strong—and so, say some insiders, is illegal trading. For Gavison's already busy financial watchdogs, there may still be fresh trails to follow in the months to come.

Boosky's testimony, in turn, has led to several arrests on Wall Street, and as yet, no one is certain that there will be more. Indeed, in recent months magazine and newspaper reports have focused on takeover specialist Daniel Barnham and the information about mergers to which his chief financier—among them merger wizard Michael Milken—may have access. Daniel has publicly denied any wrongdoing, however. Meanwhile, in response to corpo-



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The Eaton Auditorium in 1972: Glenn Gould, Paul Robeson, and Kwanza Kabane.

### FOLLOW-UP

## A landmark in limbo

For nearly 50 years it offered Toronto the chance to hear live performances by some of the finest classical musicians of the day. But since 1972 the 1,600-seat Eaton Auditorium—the ostentatious showpiece of the Eaton's College Street store—has been locked and dark. The names the owners of the building, now part of an office, retail and condominium complex called College Park, which also houses the Macdonald's office, have been seeking permission to turn the space into offices. Last June a Supreme Court of Canada decision announced that the now-dormant hall will escape demolition. But until the owner, Toronto College Street Centre Ltd., city officials and private lobby groups can arrive at a workable plan for restoring the auditorium, Toronto music lovers must rest content with little more than memories. Said Toronto publisher Mervyn Kaldenberg, a fervent supporter of the Eaton Auditorium, "It would be a great and wonderful thing if the owners would contribute it to the city for people to restore and use and enjoy."

T. Eaton Co. completed its seven-story College Street building in 1930. The highlight for the culturally parched Toronto was the seventh floor, with its elegant art deco concert hall and the Round Room dining room, designed by French architect Jacques Carlu. "This opened the possibility of live music to a lot of people," and architectural historian William Deady. The first Eaton Auditorium performance in 1931 featured Australian soprano Florence Austral, accompanied by pianist Ernest MacMillan—who later became the Toronto Symphony Orchestra's musical director. And over the years audiences heard such talents as Spanish classical guitarist Andrés Segovia and U.S. bass-baritone Paul Robeson.

The auditorium's supporters say that the hall is worth saving. Indeed, Canadian pianist Glenn Gould, legendary for his exacting acoustic standards, once said that he regarded the auditorium as one of his favorite "studios." Gould made many of his recordings there, including his interpretation of all of Johann Sebastian Bach's French and English suites. And even after it was closed, Gould continued to practice at the exhausted hall with the new owners' permission, swaddled in a long overcoat, a portable propane heater burning on the floor during the winter. Professional musicians were not the only ones who benefited from the auditorium. Kwanza Music Festival spokesmen have estimated that over the years more than 30,000 amateur Canadian musicians performed in the space.

In 1975 Toronto's city council passed a bylaw designating Eaton's College Street store of "architectural value." By that time Eaton's had sold the building to its current owners, Toronto College Street Centre. The developers made a 1978 presentation to the Toronto Historical Board stating that the auditorium and Round Room would be

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noted; they reiterated the commitment in an August, 1976, letter to city council. It was with that understanding that College Street Centre entered into a 1977 agreement with the city to develop the entire complex. But the company soon decided that restoring the auditorium and the Round Room, at an estimated cost of \$6 million, was uneconomical and that it might suit organizations who wished to rent the space as much as \$1 million a year "It became apparent that there wasn't anyone to rent it," said the corporation's chief financial officer, Ian Galloway.

College Street Centre then sought permission from the city to convert the seventh floor to offices. But a loosely knit group called Friends of the State Auditorium came together to lobby against the proposal. As a result, the city refused to issue a building permit that would have allowed conversion of the premises. In 1984 the corporation took its case to a divisional court for review—only to have its application dismissed. Subsequent appeals by the corporation to the Ontario Court of Appeal in 1986 and the Supreme Court of Canada this year were turned down.

But although College Street Centre cannot convert the auditorium, it has declared that it bears no obligation to restore it. "If the courts want it preserved," said Galloway, "the community will have to pay for it." But with several Toronto buildings—including the renowned Elgin and Winter Garden Theatres—already using rent-free building at various government levels, money may be in short supply. Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton has established a committee to examine ways of making the auditorium operational, although no concrete proposals have yet been submitted.

Meanwhile, legal supporters of the auditorium insist that there are several art groups anxious to make use of the space. For one, *Musée Toronto*, an independent arts organization that presents chamber music and recitals, has expressed interest in restoring the auditorium and making it available to musical groups in the city that have difficulty finding a suitable medium-sized concert hall. Said *Musée Toronto* director Jane Porter: "It's like to see all of these homeless groups come together and see that hall become a true music centre." Such a step would be true to the past spirit of the auditorium—and to the recovery of the musical greets who greeted its stage.

—DANIEL TODD with LEATHER KNEEN as  
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## COLUMN

# Nothing to fear but the fearful

By Diane Francis

Back in the 1960s Secret Service agents sent his sons not from the family home in Bangor to live in several countries. Ralph Belchman headed in the United States. After a few years the whole family reunited in Toronto and the rest is history: in just three decades they have built a great Canadian multinational, Olympic & York—a vast empire of resources and real estate. More meaningfully, the Belchmans were already rich when they emigrated and could have moved to more prosperous Los Angeles or Manhattan. But they chose Canada. And for good reason.

The "Belchman choice" is critical to the debate that will ensue over the next few months concerning the comprehensive free trade deal signed with the Americans. Once Canadians fully understand the tremendous opportunities that have been negotiated by the Tories, the degree of acceptance will simply be a measure of self-confidence. And we deserve to be confident—if not downright cocky. Canada may have roughly 50 per cent of North America's population, but we have more than our fair share of resources, both human and physical. "Canada is a wonderful country," Paul Belchman told me a few months ago. "It hasn't got 10 per cent of this country's issues. It's got 10 or 20 per cent of these American work habits. But Canadians work better. We will prosper in a free trade deal."

Belchman is right. Of course, he has more to lose than most if he is wrong. Opening the border means more competition for his companies—but most are world-class winners. The losers will be those crowded behind tariff walls. Ontario Premier David Peterson has expressed public concern about Ontario wine makers, who critics say cannot compete in terms of price or quality, against some California wines now to be allowed in. But the Ontario government (billion local wine makers by forcing them to buy local grapes, which can be three times as expensive as California grapes. By forcing consumers to keep selling old grape growers, the province government—and not the free trade deal—threatens to destroy our vintners.

Overall, Ottawa has pulled off a good deal. It has met its three objectives of getting an independent dispute resolution, free access to the U.S. market and the removal of tariffs between 1980 and 1989. Canada's cultural, social and regional development policies remain almost completely intact, as does Peterson's precious *Acro Part*. Still, some clearly against the agreement to keep energy exports flowing to the United States (except for national security reasons), particularly the action stating that if shortages exist in both countries the two must share "proportional access to the domestic supply." But this is not new, because Canada and the United States have signed a similar deal with 18 other countries to ration oil through the International Energy Agency. Others complain that the independent dispute mechanism will not replace U.S. trade laws and only acts as a binding, bilateral appeal court. But the mechanism will not replace Canadian law, either, that allow us to protect ourselves from a sudden, unfair onslaught of Yankee traders, as will the *Toronto Competition Act* that would allow the government to block any wholesale buy-out of an industry or product line. Still others mean about the removal of some foreign ownership restrictions—viewed as a salute to sell, and besides, there is not much left: 74 of Canada's 400 largest public companies are already majority-controlled by foreign firms.

Despite huge benefits, it is premature to count the blessings because this is far from being a final treaty. The deal faces tough scrutiny on both sides of the border. Besides that, there are some fundamental considerations. This is not so much a freer trade deal as a sentimental protectionist deal. In essence, both countries have agreed to barter advantages on one another and to discriminate against the rest of the world, at least until more general worldwide trade liberalization is negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This is why both countries with The United States may get an estimated 300,000 new jobs, and Canada—with its economy one-sixth the size—350,000. The deal, as a result of this deal, is a beautiful themselves who may suffer it.

selling to Ontario, but his U.S. rival will not. It means Scottish pulp will face a U.S. tariff, but B-C pulp will not. The only way to get access to the tariff shield, unless world-wide trade barriers are lowered, will be to get behind it and set up shop in North America. That is where the new jobs and the Belchman choice comes in. In effect, New Zealand conglomerate Fletcher Challenge Ltd. has joined with our entry to the United States by buying shares of British Columbia's forestry business since 1983. And its head, Sir Ronald Trester, is an unabashed supporter of free trade, who has also suggested that Australia and New Zealand try to join the new North American trading block.

Like the Belchmans, one of Hong Kong's richest men, Li Ka-shing, sees his sons allied to the United States and Canada—and settled in Canada. The Lis have already begun using Canada as the base for their North American real estate and resource forays because of stability and, as Li himself hinted to me in an interview last spring, Canadian social tolerance. "We have been treated like ordinary Canadians," he said.

Is it any wonder we see the chosen nation—and will be even more so under a free trade deal? Who can deny that Canada has more livable cities, more tolerance, more sophistication, fewer socioeconomic problems and less corruption? That is like a kinder system that looks after the old, poor and sick, and encourages more social and political stability? Native commentators tend to regard individual decisions as being made strictly on the basis of bottom-line considerations. Economics are fundamental, but people who make things happen eventually see human life and want the best lifestyle for their families. That is the essence of the Belchman choice.

Added to that is the fact of Canada's fundamental economic advantages. For instance, fishermen pay Canadian workers about 50 per cent less—a difference of about 40¢ an hour—than they pay U.S. workers, due to the lower dollar and government-subsidized fringe benefits such as medical care. This is why 18 per cent of auto jobs are in Canada—exceeding the 11 per cent maximum number required by the *Acro Part*. This country will always have a great deal going for itself. Our labor costs are considerably lower, our resources richer. Our society is happier and more secure. About the only thing Canadians have to deal with as a result of this deal, is the beautiful themselves who may suffer it.



# REDRAWING THE NATION



Mulroney with the Prime Minister's chief of staff, Derek Burrows. Mulroney is the Conservative, ardent opposition

A host of Ottawa's federal civil servants arrived for work on Monday, Oct. 3, a weary band of External Affairs staffers had just ended a marathon 24-hour shift. In all, the 30 writers, editors, translators and word processors had been asked to produce Canada's summary of the free trade agreement. With negotiators still working out the final details in Washington, the Ottawa group dealt with sections of the pact as they were approved and sent north by faxmachine throughout Monday. Piled by sandwiches, coffee and the occasional cigarette—officially banned by government decree—they worked through the night to a 9:30 a.m. Monday deadline. They beat it by 15 minutes. At 9:15 a.m. their mission was accomplished: 10,000 copies of a glossy four-bouquet blue-covered trade package were ready for distribution. That was the opening shot in the Mulroney government's campaign to sell the controversial accord to the country. Declared pollster Angus Reid in *Windsor*: "The battle for the hearts and minds of Canadians has begun."

In fact, the battle for a free trade deal—the pivotal plank in the government's agenda—began in March, 1985, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan agreed at a Quebec City summit meeting to seek "a more secure climate for bilateral trade." The trade talks began officially in Ottawa on May 22, 1986. But last week the issues—and the arguments—became more sharply focused, as outlines of the agreement and some details of the negotiations became public for the first time. Both the proponents and the opponents of the deal agreed that it could fundamentally alter the shape of Canada in the next decade (page 20). Their dispute centered on whether the changes would be for better or for worse.

**Law.** The Washington agreement, which requires ratification by the U.S. Congress to become law and will be debated in Parliament, proposes to:

- Reimburse all tariffs as cross-border trade within 10 years in a new Free Trade Area (FTA).
- Establish a five-member binational panel to review trade decisions that

give rise to disputes between Canada and the United States. The panel would have the power to decide whether rulings by either country complied with its trade laws and with the multinational General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

• Restrict Ottawa's power to screen foreign investment only to direct takeovers of Canadian companies with assets of more than \$50 million rather than the present threshold of \$5 million.

• Remove restrictions on the operations of U.S. banks in Canada and lift the limits on U.S. ownership of Canadian financial institutions.

• Establish a common energy market in petroleum, gas, uranium and hydroelectricity.

Supporters of the agreement portrayed the debate as a clash between two fundamentally different views of the country. Chief Canadian trade negotiator Simon Robinson, for one, said that critics are espousing the view of "a small Canada, little Canada, Canada behind the wall, a protected Canada." But both federal opposition parties, at

least three provincial premiers and a wide range of cultural and labor groups lined up to fight the agreement. Their principal fear that Canada will lose politically, economically and culturally if the deal is ratified. Liberal Leader John Turner denounced the pact as a "sell-out" and began a national tour designed to arouse opposition to the deal. Bold NDP Leader Ed Broadbent, warning that Canada could become part of the United States. "In my judgment, within a quarter century, we could be absorbed totally, body, soul and spirit, if this is not stopped."

**Critics.** Indeed, the free trade deal faced serious opposition. After months of negotiations, the 16 provincial premiers emerged from an eight-hour meeting with Mulroney in Oct. 4 divided into three distinct camps—pro, against and undecided. Ontario's David Peterson, Manitoba's Howard Pawley and Prince Edward Island's Joe Ghisla opposed the deal. Newfoundland's Brian Peckford and Nova Scotia's John Buchanan were not fully committed either way last week. The five other provinces, led by Quebec's Robert Bourassa, endorsed the terms. Asked about the

opposition from three of the provincial leaders, Mulroney stated bluntly, "I wasn't asking for anyone's approval." In response to prodding from critics, the Prime Minister insisted that he was ready to fight an election on the deal.

The rift in Canada widened concerns in the United States, where Congress is scheduled to review the package before Jan. 3 and to vote a deciding vote on it some time next spring. Federal authorities say that only a small part of the deal—less than 10 per cent—requires provincial co-operation. But last week U.S. trade representative Clayton Kopp told a Toronto audience that Congress will not approve the deal unless the provinces do too.

**Anger.** In Ottawa, meanwhile, the Liberals and New Democrats expressed anger in Parliament about documents showing that Washington had insisted on changes in Canadian law governing medical drug patents as one price for signing a trade deal. Government ministers have repeatedly denied the linkage between the trade agreement and the legislation before Parliament that would provide greater protection against producing generic copies of pharmaceuticals patented by multina-

tional drug companies.

There was other evidence of confusion in the government as Mulroney and his ministers began their promotion campaign. In a speech to an exporters' convention in Ottawa, the Prime Minister mentioned a "master program" for workers displaced by the agreement. But Finance Minister Michael Wilson said in the House of Commons that no such compensation would be needed. Earlier in the week International Trade Minister Pat Carney, who joined the Canadian contingent in Washington for the final negotiating sessions, claimed that the deal would offer Canada insurance against a protectionist trade bill now before the U.S. Congress. But unexplained, officials later explained that the U.S.-Canada deal would not, in fact, cover U.S. legislation passed before Jan. 1, 1988, when the trade pact comes into effect. And Employment Minister Russell Bouchard ignited a

storm of protest when he speculated that as many as 500,000 people could lose their jobs as a result of free trade. A much calmer atmosphere prevailed in Washington as U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker, trade representative Yeutter and American chief negotiator Peter Murphy began their selling job. Capitol Hill initial reaction was mixed, with most senators and congressmen expressing apathy until they had seen news. Republican Senator Robert Packwood of Oregon was among those who said that he liked the agreement. "Packwood" who was a leader in a fight to limit Canadian lumber imports. "I'd like to see it finished out, but I'm presuming I'm going to support it."

U.S. proponents of the free trade accord will have to make a major effort to obtain approval on a tight schedule. Under U.S. rules governing the trade agreement, Congress has until Jan. 2 to review the deal. After that, Congress has 60 sitting days to vote for or against existing legislation. But there are few openings in the congressional timetable for the next few days. House of Representatives speaker who deals with trade issues. "It's going to

PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]



## A DISPUTED REVIEW PROCESS

**T**he initial promise was irresistible as an exception from U.S. trade rules for threatened Canadian exports. But it was apparent from the first day of free trade talks that Brian Mulroney's pledge was the major sticking point of the agreement. And the final solution fell short of the Prime Minister's promise.

In April that U.S. trade law remedies can be applied to Canada. Under the new agreement, Canadian industries charged with subsidizing exports or dumping products at artificially low prices would still face lengthy procedures.

Under the agreement-in-principle, the process of determining whether or not

dumping or subsidizing exists remains largely unchanged. Hearings can take place before the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC), a regulatory government agency, or, in Canada, at Revenue Canada or before specific industry regulatory bodies. Then, the department of commerce in the United States or the Canadian Import Tribunal in Canada would determine if such activities have damaged U.S. or Canadian industry. If damages are found, offsetting duties may be levied.

In the past, a Canadian industry that lost the first round could take its case to the International Council of International Trade (ICIT) in New York for an appeal. In Canada, U.S. companies could appeal the decision to the Federal Court of Appeals. The free trade deal will change the appeal process by eliminating appeals to the courts. Instead, the review will be done by a five-member tribunal set up for each future appeal. There would be two members from each country and a fifth expert who would be appointed by mutual agreement as a draw.

But the tribunal will not accept new evidence. Instead, panel members will decide cases solely on whether or not they comply with U.S. and Canadian trade laws and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. An Trade Minister Pat Carney acknowledged last week the new process "will not shield Canada from present U.S. legislation."

However, the agreement provides for a seven-year period during which the two sides can define new trade rules

that would replace existing U.S. and Canadian law. That prospect could cut the number of actions against both countries significantly. But changes may be a long time coming. U.S. trade representative Clayton Yeutter warned that the interest in new rules "could be a nuisance five years from now, even three years from now. And if it's a nuisance, the matter will merit very little attention."

—IAN ANDERSON in Washington

be hard to set aside their fear Canada."

In Ottawa, Mulroney has pressed public hearings, debate in the Commons and a vote on the trade proposals. Last week he met the provinces around the boardroom table in the Langton Block, across the street from Parliament. Mulroney described the session—the group's wish to free trade—the "bustling" in free trade, Mulroney told Mulroney's, however, that there were many heated moments as details of the document were discussed. Newfoundland's Peckford, for example, was unhappy that a provision in the trade deal meant that his province could no longer assert that fish be processed locally before export. Peckford also expressed concern that the second establishment of a continental energy market might limit Newfoundland's access to hydroelectricity resources on the Labrador-Quebec border because Quebec would be encouraged to export some power.

These same energy provisions, however, delighted Beauséjour. Indeed, the Quebec premier was so happy with the agreement that he offered to help

Mulroney sell it in Quebec and across Canada. With improved prospects for export of his province's surplus electricity, Beauséjour predicted that the agreement would mean "dozens of billions of dollars" in extra revenue—and jobs. Alberta Premier Donald Getty and British Columbia's William Vander Zalm were also quick to declare support. Said Getty: "It is definitely better than what we have now." But Mulroney's Pawley was apologetic, mostly because the deal would permit greater foreign ownership of Canadian resources. Said Pawley: "I will be seeking to promote a different direction."

**Legal.** At the first ministerial meeting, Ontario's Peterson pronounced two legal opinions—one Canadian, one American—which concluded that the proposed new trade dispute review provisions would bring little amendment. Peterson also maintained that by eliminating all tariffs, Ottawa would remove the possibility of applying them as penalties against any of the Big Three U.S. automakers who failed to abide by the

1982 Auto Pact's Canadian-content requirements. Declared Peterson last week: "My mind is made up. I don't believe this deal is good for the country."

One potential loss in Canada's protected auto industry (\$500 million) Ontario was makers expressed concern about provisions in the proposed agreement to eliminate provincial programs that give domestic auto makers and marketing advantages over imports in government liquor stores. Said John Weston, executive director of the Canadian Wine Institute: "Today I feel like a poker chip."

**Wine.** During top protection for wine was one of what Mulroney described as "the agonizing decisions" made at the bargaining table. But both opponents and supporters of the deal said that the most difficult decision of all—whether to abolish regional development incentives—has been delayed, perhaps indefinitely, by the negotiators' decision to attempt to draft a new code for industries over the next seven years.

Canada maintains that government support is needed to promote development in such heavily depressed regions as Cape Breton. The United States, although it operates industrial and trade incentives of its own, has expressed Canada's regional grants and subsidies as unfair and that helps Canadian exporters to produce goods at prices

American cannot match. In the end, the two sides found the industrial review gap between them too wide and left the subsidy code for future negotiation.

Meanwhile, Mulroney and other free trade proponents will attempt to focus

Loi, the regular Tory party politics, began maneuvering for position to the agreement last week, and there are plans for Mulroney and key ministers to cross the country promoting the deal. In addition, Beauséjour has put his own staff on what he calls "crusade footing."

has had credibility problems in the past, they believe the strength of his conviction in this accord will come through.

**Rail.** Free trade advocates fear a determined and organized opposition. According to politician Jim McKinnon, vice-president of Decca, it may be easier to attack the deal than defend it. Said McKinnon: "The costs are tangible. The benefits are not." Made Barlow, co-chairman of the anti-free trade Pro-Canada Network, said that her group has a "technical analysis" of the pact showing that Canada has lost more than it has gained. Armed with this information, the group will lobby the provinces, presenting a petition that Barlow has been signed "by hundreds of thousands of people" who believe Mulroney should call a federal election before signing the pact.

**Deal.** With Trade Minister Carney predicting that the deal will not be finalized until next July, Canadians have months of argument about free trade. The debate, both sides concede, will go beyond the merits of the detailed provisions in the agreement and to address more fundamental questions: what kind of nation do Canadians want?

—MAGNET LEBLANC with  
HELEN RACINE and PAT GIBBELL in  
Ottawa, IAN ANDERSON in Washington,  
STEPHEN ANDERSON in Toronto,  
CARL VAN DER BRUG in Montreal and  
CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON



Turner: for dealer or worse



Carney, Wilson, Baker and Mulroney (right) a battle for hearts and minds

the battle for public opinion as the national benefits that they say will result from the accord. A federal official told Mulroney that the strategy is to stress the prospects for increased job opportunities, cheaper products and a healthy economy. In Toronto, Decca Research

In the weeks and months to come, they plan to issue a series of studies on the deal. Said Beauséjour: "I want this national debate to be well informed." Indeed, Conservative government ministers are confident that they can seal the deal on their merits. While the Prime Minister

## THE 'BEST MAN FOR THE JOB'

Twelve days after outpacing Brian Beauséjour in a runoff of the free trade talks in Washington and declaring them dead, Canada's chief trade negotiator stood and acknowledged the expertise of the House of Commons for conferring a deal. Three days later Mulroney's Ottawa bureau correspondent Mulroney's desk copy to Beauséjour, a former deputy minister of Finance under John

Turner, about the agreement in his 17th-year Ottawa office.

**Mulroney:** How does the deal you got compare with the deal you wanted?

**Beauséjour:** You want to get everything you want. But you know that for more than you know you are going to settle for. I would say we got a good deal.

**Mulroney:** How do you react in Ontario

Premier David Peterson's opposition to the pact?

**Beauséjour:** I got very troubled with people like Mr. Peterson who fast-tracked the agreement. He didn't really wait or agree. He looked for excuses to be negative. He takes the view that I call small Canada, a protected Canada. We all want to protect Canada, but we don't want to live in a backwater.

**Mulroney:** What about the opposition of the other parties in Parliament?

**Beauséjour:** Mr. Broadbent and his arrangement it became they don't really believe in free enterprise. They like to

restrict and control and interfere. Mr. Turner is in a strange position. He's being dragged down that path by people in his party who have always been negative about trade with the Americans. I know John Turner. Unless there was a conversion at the road to Damascus, he has got himself into a position he doesn't believe in.

**Mulroney:** Looking back, is there anything you would have done differently?

**Beauséjour:** Some people criticized me for waiting too long before I decided to suspend negotiations. Perhaps that criticism is justified.

**Mulroney:** Clayton Yeutter, the U.S. trade representative, said that a deal could have been signed earlier if you had

and been Canada's negotiator. Beauséjour: I'm a lot happier with the negotiation when they're criticizing you than when they're saying nice things about you. If they regard me as a tough, difficult negotiator, that's just dandy.

**Mulroney:** Was there ever a point when you said, "I don't want this, I quit?" **Beauséjour:** Yeah, there were moments. But it was well worth it. I'll be forever grateful to Brian Mulroney. I'm proud to think he reached out and picked the best man for the job. I'll be honest. I think I was the best man.



Mulroney: negotiator



Gordon Pinsent



Marie-Josée Drouin



William Bennett



Pierre Serisio

## FEEDBACK ON FREE TRADE

Last week business leaders, politicians, artists and other opinion leaders were assessing Ottawa's free trade agreement with the United States. Excerpts of random interviews by Maclean's Assistant Editor Cindy Barrett and staff Writer Sherri Ashworth.

### Pierre Berton

**Author:** "It's dreadful. It is selling the soul of our country. It means we are one step closer to becoming American. Canadians should demand an election. If the Prime Minister thinks it's such a good idea, then he should have the guts to go to the people."

### John Polanyi

**Nobel Prize-winner in chemistry:** "Free trade is the way of the future. In science there is no duty levied on ideas and we compete internationally. It is a logical extension that business, which depends on ideas, compete internationally." That said, we have to take measures to protect our political independence.

### John Kenneth Galbraith

**Harvard University economist:** "I don't automatically support free trade. I have no ideological commitment to it. But Canada clearly has a trading advantage under this deal and much wider access to the United States."

### Roger Abbott

**Member, Royal Canadian Air Force:** "I'm in on the table but here is under the table. I think it's interesting that we'll have free trade with the United States. May be 10 years down the road we might have free trade between the provinces."

### James Lorimer

**Baltix publisher:** "In 1987 the Maritimes entered into a free trade arrangement with Central Canada and suffered disastrous results. The most serious consequence of the deal is that the Americans will be looking over our shoulders at all times and Ottawa will use it as rationale for all kinds of policies."

### William Bennett

**Former Social Credit premier of British Columbia:** "People who support the status quo are sticking their heads in the sand. There are no such things as safe-guarding anyone. We'll be vulnerable if we don't become competitive. A deal with us will be much stronger constantly than if we don't have one. The principle is absolutely sound. It's not a political alliance, it's an economic one. Let's not kid ourselves. This is just the beginning."

### Gordon Pinsent

**Toronto based actor:** "There is something good about the fact that we can borrow from each other more than the borders allow, but this goes beyond commerce. What scares me is that would be a mere extension of another country. We're at our best when we have someone to serve. I feel better serving a Canadian identity. I don't want to be a cultural leech."

### Eric Kierans

**Baltix economist and former cabinet minister under Pierre Trudeau:** "The underlying error in all of this is that Canadians believe that can create more wealth in Canada than we can create ourselves. The bottom line is that we are asking for a quick fix. What we should be

doing is working on our economy. If you can't control your own economy, you have to rely to rely yourself a loser."

### Tony Penikett

**Government Leader, Yukon:** "Over the past 10 years we've been working to gain more control over our local economy, development and resources. We've been working at making local purchases and policies. This is a very much against the free trade. We as a community may find ourselves welcoming a patron."

### Marie-Josée Drouin

**Montreal economist:** "Most studies show that free trade will cause dislocation, but the whole effect will be positive and we will experience rapid growth. But this really is a partial social. Let's not kid ourselves. This is just the beginning."

### Scott Abbott

**Montrealer investor of Trivial Pursuit:** "We have the best of both worlds now. Canadians like to cherry-pick. We can read magazines we like, watch the shows we like and sometimes look down our noses at what we don't like. I love the United States, but the worse I see of the States the happier I am to be here, even if it does cost more."

### David Suzuki

**Scientist/broadcaster:** "I am horrified because of the assumptions underlying a deal that the marketplace and job seek determine the future of this country. This is misguided entrepreneurship as the part of some Canadians who want to be big-time businessmen. Canadians are different from Americans because of the CEC, medicare, Quebec and Tenure



Sheila McCarthy



John Polanyi



Nicole Poly



John Kenneth Galbraith

Disables. I don't want to live in Reagan's America. This is a sell-out."

### Elizabeth Beale

**Baltix economist:** "It won't eradicate our economic problems, but it is the best opportunity we have. You can't enter with regional development programs, but in the long range we need basic economic changes. The status quo hasn't been good to us. We have little to lose."

### Jean-Luc Pepin

**Former Liberal cabinet minister under Pierre Trudeau:** "I'm like a frustrated lover. When I was married I saw Canada doing rather well by itself. Fifteen years later I'm told that I live in a dream world for believing that Canada can go to the international markets alone. I don't accept that."

### Nicola Polty

**Montreal fashion designer:** "I'm all for free trade in principle. We do 90 per cent of our retail business in the United States. It's still hard to know, though, how it will affect the textile business. But if we see a wide-open market, we'll be able to do more of our manufacturing here than in the Orient."

### Richard Coshin

**St. John's based president, Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers-CAW:** "The deal is a manifestation of sheer disbelief. It's ridiculous, which has run its course. Eventually, there is no doubt that it puts limitations on our ability to make our own social and economic decisions. It's a dramatic reversal of the way in which this country was founded."

### Sheila McCarthy

**Actress:** "When I auditioned for *I've Never Been More in Love*, I thought, big deal—the small Canadian film that no one will see. I had auditioned and lost three-five secretary parts in big U.S. films and ended more. When *Mermaids* received international applause my life

was red. I've free trade means cleaner cultural ties and less *Mermaids* and more secretary parts. I say a relaxed, optimistic and bare-arsed Canadian no."

### Carroll Black

**Chairman of Argus Corp. Ltd.:** "I'm in favor of free trade with the United States. The more, the better."

### Robert Blair

**Chairman of NOVA, an Alberta Corp.:** "In our business we would prefer to fight than be protected. We're ready to compete with anyone. The kinds of businesses in Western Canada require a large market to build. Even if we had the entire Canadian market, it would not be enough to sustain our output."

### Dennis Stairs

**Political science professor, Dalhousie University:** "In 10 years we'll be a society run on hard-core competition and hard-landers, more American and much less gentle. Today, we don't assume that because Canada is still hard to know, though, how it will affect the textile business. But if we see a wide-open market, we'll be able to do more of our manufacturing here than in the Orient."

### Peter Bentley

**Chairman of Vancouver-based Canada on Forest Products Ltd.:** "It's a fact of life that we need access to this market. It's not about the peace of mind that we will be able to maintain our employment levels in pulp and paper. A loss of a deal would mean a threat to those jobs."

### Charles Pachter

**Toronto artist:** "It's still so confusing. I don't think the government is being upfront. We don't know what we're getting. It could be that in the future all Ottawa will come from California because that may be the very best place to grow lettuce—and maybe that's not bad. It sounds like our winners are going to get screwed, but the fact is everyone stands

down in Rochester to buy wine anyway. We shouldn't be hypocritical. My artist's instinct tells me that this is inevitable as the world develops. It may be a 19th-century opinion that nationalism is tied to a country's betterment."

### Israel Asper

**Chairman of Global Communications Ltd.:** "I am a free trader by economic philosophy. All my life I've lived in Western Canada, where we've had to buy goods from tariff-protected Central Canada, so Western Canada has historically endured free trade. But this deal is concerned with the total economic infrastructure of North America and things that have nothing to do with free trade, such as the communications industry."

### Dave Barrett

**Former MP, mayor of British Columbia:** "Complete resource access will leave us forever on a barren of wood and drawers of water. It's really an incredibly bad deal."

### Pierre Péladeau

**President, Quebec Inc.:** "This is a positive sign. The men who can act fast will benefit. Those who are stagnant will not survive. Today we have a market of 25 million—tomorrow we will have a market of 150 million. If we can't make a living out of that, that's our own damn problem."

### Bruce Hutchison

**Univacover journalist:** "If an election were held on the issue, I don't think it would be fought on facts but rather on a gut or visceral reaction to free trade. An expansion of world trade generally is vital to world development. If world trade shrinks, it would be disastrous—ruinous in Third World countries and bad for us. But will the deal even go through the U.S. Congress? Are they going to reject the protective measures of the 1980s? I can't say whether I'm for it or against it."

# DISAPPOINTMENT AND DELIGHT

Peter Nigard, a Toronto-based manufacturer of women's sportswear, was angry and bitterly disappointed. From the beginning, he had enthusiastically supported the Mulroney government's free trade negotiations with the United States. But when he saw the draft agreement last week, Nigard concluded that the Canadian clothing industry would be a big loser. On the final day of negotiations, he said, the Canadian trade team agreed to a United States demand that only garments made exclusively from North American fibres be permitted to cross the border tariff-free. Canadian manufacturers, he noted, export about 40 per cent of their fibres from outside of North America. "It was a deal better and the government agreed to it," said Nigard. "It takes the fashion industry out of the deal."

Gordon Cammermeyer, president of Raleigh-based National Sea Products, was in a buoyant, optimistic mood. Over the past seven years, National Sea, Canada's largest fishing company, has, along with others in Canada's Atlantic fishing, food processing and export sectors, been involved in costly actions launched by companies in the United States. In the past year alone, the company has spent \$1.5 million defending itself against counterfactual actions. But Cammermeyer said that the creation of a binational trade dispute panel, a central element of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement, would sharply reduce the harassment of his company. "This is a straight-up confrontation for us," Cammermeyer told Maclean's. Indeed, the optimistic executive predicted that National Sea, which now employs about 3,000 people, will expand its workforce by 400 as exports to the U.S. increase over the next five years.

Across the country last week, the reaction from the business community to the draft trade pact ran a gamut from



Shoe manufacturer Anthony Carrier worries in trade deal



Ward: serious implications and cheaper American food

wreck none of them were prepared to pass five or 10 years into the future to give any precise prediction of their long-term prospects under free trade. For one thing, the details of the agreement were unavailable—a 35-page "preliminary transcript" released by Ottawa merely outlines general principles rather than detailed rules. In some cases, the agreement devotes a single sentence to entire industries and billions of dollars worth of exports. Besides, executives pointed out that their companies or industries would be affected by many other events besides free trade, making it difficult to isolate possible effects of the agreement.

**Savings Bill**, on a broader scale, dozens of leading business associations stated flatly that the agreement spelled disaster for their industries. And others welcomed the guaranteed access to the United States market. Among the potential losers were Canadian grape growers and wine raisers, the house recording industry, food processors, chicken and egg producers and western grain growers. Probable winners included the oil and gas industry, petrochemical producers, the brewing industry, cattle and hog producers, shoe manufacturers and farmers' markets. The Quebec business community was particularly strong in its support for the agreement, and the Consumers' Association of Canada predicted that tariff reductions would result in big savings for average shoppers.

**Wart Stranded** between the obvious winners and losers were those who must await the detailed regulations. Victor Louisa, president of the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada (APMA), said that, based on available information, changes in regulations concerning automotive trade would hurt the parts industry. But he said that the absence of detailed regulations

## When you've got it, flute it.



*Methode Champenoise*



price system for domestic wheat. Since 1987 the Winnipeg-based Canadian Wheat Board (CWB) has protected both producers and consumers from wild swings in world prices by setting upper and lower limits on domestic prices. Currently, the international price of wheat is about \$3 per bushel, but the domestic price is pegged at about \$7 per bushel, the CWB floor price. The difference between the world and domestic prices is worth about \$400 million annually to grain growers, and Douglas Brunton, spokesman for the 60,000-acre Alberta Wheat Pool, says, "It's really where farmers' lives, customers should benefit from lower bread prices, and [Robert] Evans, senior vice-president of Corporate Foods Ltd. in Etobicoke, Ont. He also argued that Canadian farmers will be able to compete equitably against American firms who buy their domestic wheat at world prices. Moreover, bakers in the B.C. Lower Mainland have lost approximately 30 per cent of their domestic market in U.S. bakers partly because of the two-price system, and Hugo Powell, president and chief executive officer of Vancouver-based Nevels Foods Ltd.

**Risks.** But perhaps the biggest potential loser under the newly negotiated agreement is the auto parts industry. APMA's Leone said that since the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact was signed in 1985, U.S. vehicle manufacturers have had to make sure 50 to 60 per cent of the parts or labor in Canadian in order to ship cars in Canada duty-free. The new provisions would allow cars to enter the country duty-free provided they contain 50 per cent North American parts and labor. "You could have 100 per cent North American value added and zero Canadian value added," said Leone. As a result, manufacturers desperately want safeguards in the new trade regulations. And the agreement would also allow firms on either side of the border to buy a used car in the other country and bring it home duty-free.

Without new performance requirements, Canada, and Ontario in particular, has a lot to lose, warned Leone. APMA's 350 members employed 65,000 workers and recorded total sales of \$3.3 billion last year. More than 40 per cent of the industry is located in Ontario, with 10 per cent based in Quebec and the balance scattered across the country.

While any perceived threat to the auto industry was bound to give Ontario the edge, the Quebec business community had few, if any reservations about the pact. "Quebec rejected narrow pro-

tectionism in the 1980 referendum," said David Calver, president and chairman of Montreal-based multinational Alcan Aluminum Ltd. "Having turned that corner, we Quebecers are now finding Canada just a bit too small." Similarly, Montreal consultant André Serny said that Quebecers do not share Ontario's fears of cultural assimilation. "Quebecers always need a nation, and now that nation is business," said Serny.

**Risks.** But Quebec stands to benefit greatly from the trade deal's proposed continental energy market. It opens the door for huge hydroelectricity sales to the northeastern United States and possibly a second multi-billion-dollar James Bay power project, Quebec Energy Minister John Chénier told *Maclean's* A1 the same time, said Chénier, the agreement will discourage U.S. coal producers from launching controversial actions against

possibly new investment, and John Peck, president of Calgary-based Novar Chemicals Ltd.

Although economic nationalists were outraged over the new rules on screening U.S. investment, pro-free-traders argued that they do not undermine the country's interests. Upon implementing the agreement, Canada will review any direct investment of a domestic company worth more than \$20 million. Within four years the review threshold rises to \$100 million. According to the latest figures available from Statistics Canada, there were 945 companies in Canada with assets exceeding \$50 million in 1984 and they controlled 70 per cent of all corporate assets. University of Toronto economist John Grosse and said that these figures demonstrate that the federal government can still control the ownership of the country's most important assets.



Grain harvesting near Niagara Falls, Ont. - threat to a \$250-million industry

Quebec, and will reduce the National Energy Board's authority to block export sales.

In Western Canada, the oil and gas executives, petrochemical producers and livestock producers all enthusiastically endorsed the deal because it gives them access to the U.S. market. But William Gutsch, president of Calgary-based TransCanada Resources, said that the deal really does not introduce dramatic new policies for many of the industries. Since the Conservative took office, they have dismantled the Liberals' National Energy Program (NEP), deregulated oil and natural gas prices and eased the regulations on exports, said Gutsch. For petrochemical producers, the elimination of U.S. tariffs ranging from 10 per cent to 18 per cent will mean improved returns and

For consumers, the free trade deal will be a windfall, said Sally Hall, president of the Consumers' Association of Canada. The elimination of all tariffs within 10 years of implementing a deal will result in cheaper manufactured goods because duties are always added to the retail price. According to federal department of finance figures, Canada levied duties of \$8.1 billion in 1988 and \$20.7 billion worth of U.S. imports. "We will see a greater variety of goods and cheaper prices," said Hall. And that may help take the sting out of a deal that is bound to cost some Canadians their jobs and some even their companies.

—D. ADEN JENSEN with JOHN HOSKIN in Cal and TOM FENNEL, RICHARD KELLY MCCY and NICHOLAS JENKINS in Toronto and RICHARD LALLAGH in Montreal

## THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

By Michael Dillon

Hardly anyone has read or understood the trade pact. It is not even final. And yet we argue about wealth and poverty, sovereignty, survival, selfhood, betrayals of history, our children's future. We are either for or against it. There seems to be no middle ground. We seem to be at a parting of the ways. Why is the debate already so intense? Because we probably are at a parting of the ways.

The trade agreement is a framework for the continued integration of the Canadian and American economies. In objective by either Congress or Parliament would be a virtual declaration of commercial war. Protectionist barriers to trade and investment will become higher and thicker on both sides of the border as North America's neighbors turn away from each other.

**Reasons.** The stakes are enormous. All of us will be richer or poorer. Small business and workers stand to be wiped out, others given beautiful opportunities. Whole regions of Canada, notably the West, see a chance to escape from hardship, perhaps into bonanza. But the provinces of the wealthiest province, Ontario, trembles at the prospect of change.

Others argue that the issue goes beyond dollars and cents. It is a question of our national and political independence? Are we to remain a sovereign nation? Will we sell ourselves to the Americans? Can Canada have a future under this trade? Can we have a future without it?

For Canadian historians, the sense of déjà vu is oppressive. We have lived it all before, many times. How shall we deal with that great neighbor? In 1854 we got a sweeping trade agreement with the United States. In 1894 we lost it. In 1937 we negotiated another one. That Congress never passed it. In 1974 we had a shrewd tariff policy and made tariff protection our National Policy. In 1984 we had another election on the free trade issue. In 1911 we had another. In 1985 the opposition slogan was "Optima-

not, Washington our Capital" and in 1911 they declared that Canada should have "No Truck nor Trade with the Yankers."

**Defining.** The trade question's potential to divide and embitter us has hardly changed in more than a century. True, the politicians have turned their coats. The Liberals used to be the free traders, the Conservatives the protectionists. And business is more

as they will save it on the trade deal.

But history never really repeats itself. Whenever Canadians discussed continental economic integration in the past, they thought they had a viable alternative. The Mother Country and her Empire could always save us. For most of our history we did more trade with Great Britain than with the United States, and even as late as 1957 John Diefenbaker could promise to reduce our dependence on the Americans by increasing trade to Britain. But as that country went into decline we have been increasing our links to the American economy. Like it or not, we do almost three times as much trade with the United States as we do with all the rest of the world combined. No one with an economic IQ above 30 believes there is a realistic alternative to this trading pattern.

**Choices.** The debate is no longer about being an American versus a British country. It is about what kind of North American country Canada wants to be. We can continue to share the American's economic and their standard of living, making the kinds of compromises all of us do to get along in marriage. Or we can divorce and separate. No one votes the British, nor the European, certainly not the Japanese—is interested in taking as freely into their markets. Life as a "single" in a world of international giant, protectionist national economies would be very hard indeed for most Canada.

Michael Dillon is a professor of history at the University of Toronto and the author of *Northern Wilderness: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*.

Peers. Ask on B.C.-U.S. border, what kind of country?

asked in three of reform newspapers, while unions (and the NDP) stoutly champion the status quo.

Unless Congress somersaults in the past, we will probably have an election on the issue. (The government may not want one, but the Liberals in the Senate will force it anyway.) Then the elections of 1911 will be almost deafening. The vested interests are already mobilizing, as they did then, to boost the dammed thing.

History will repeat itself. Like Sir

Willard Llewellyn's government in 1901, the Mulroney Conservatives are already unpopular and on the defensive. If the government fails to sell the agreement as one that will strengthen the nation, if the government is made to appear an American, if it seems to have played fast and loose with our children's future (as none of us believe it has, much more wisely, in the Meek Lake constitutional accord), nothing will save it on the trade deal.

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Pickete and police scuffle at Toronto postal depot: a back-to-work bill with heavy penalties for defiance

## Anger on the postal picket line

**T**he warning signals had little effect. Almost from the outset of the rotating strikes by postal workers on Sept. 20, Labor Minister Pierre Cadieux had warned that the government would not tolerate a protracted disruption of the postal service. But after Cadieux introduced legislation ordering an end to the walkouts—and proposed stringent legal sanctions against any strike leaders who disobeyed—the 20,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (cups) launched a full-scale national strike. Officials at Canada Post, while denying that they sought back-to-work legislation, had said repeatedly that contract talks with the cups had stalled and that even the appointment of a mediator could achieve little. Although Canada Post negotiator Harold Dymally said that the mail continued to move and that there was little violence on the picket lines, he added "it's currently ready to blow at any time."

The back-to-work legislation came now days after the union began a series of rotating strikes. The bill gave the two sides 90 days to reach a settlement—or have one imposed on them by a federally appointed arbitrator. Any cups members who ignored the order would be subject to stiff fines and a loss on holding senior office for five years. But the opposition prevented swift passage of the bill, and

the New Democrats said that they might use further delaying tactics. For their part, cups leaders said that the government and Canada Post had planned from the beginning to legislate an end to the strike and had only gone through the motions of negotiating a change that both denied. But cups president Jean-Claude Parrot: "The government is using the brute force of the law to achieve what it could not do by negotiation."

The union responded by calling thousands of postal workers out of the plants and onto the picket lines. Canada Post reported that the union struck at the country's 30 largest mail processing plants. The strikers laid an estimated 5,000 union members who were off the job in more than 30 communities across Canada. Most of them had walked out for one-day strikes, but Canada Post locked out many of them for two or three days more. And the 3,000 members of the Montreal local, who had defied the national convention on the first day of the strike by walking off the job, stayed out. In turn, Canada Post used

helicopters to move mail out of some major sorting plants over the heads of pickets. The corporation based its replacement workers it had hired and launched court actions to limit the number of pickets in some areas.

The picket lines were generally quiet, but there were scattered clashes as unionists attempted to stop the temporary workers, whom they denounced as scab labor. In Newsmo, B.C., a man wearing a Halloween gorilla mask drove a busload of strikebreakers through a picket line and broke a man's leg. In St. Catharines, Ont., five postal workers were charged with mischief after a bus carrying replacement workers had its headlights smashed.

In Halifax, police in riot gear scuffled with pickets. And in Saint John, workers planned to toss bits of bread at replacement workers as they passed through the line. Alan Kressenbilt, chief steward of cups's Fundy local, said that the message was simple: "You want to steal our duty bread? Here, we'll give it to you!" Pay raises were not a major issue in negotiations. Instead, the dis-



Cadieux: helicopter

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paid centre on Canada Post's plan to close down some branches and firm out work to private franchise post offices. Canada Post, whose corporate plan calls for elimination of its 40,000-1100 million last year—by 1988, says that some of its current employees would lose their jobs. But the union says that turning postal stations over to private business could mean that up to 4,000 employees who now hold coveted positions on welfare would be shifted into less attractive jobs in mail-sorting plants.

Stephen Bauer, 35, a Saint John postal worker, worked night and evening shifts in the postal plant in Saint John, N.B., for six years—and hated it. Then, in 1979, he got a day job as a socket clerk at a downtown post office. "There was no comparison," he said. "Five hours sorting postal coupons can feel like a death sentence." If Bauer and other union clerks were moved back to mail plants, it would ripple through the ranks, forcing less senior postal workers down into poorer jobs and night shifts.

In the meantime, Parrot said he was convinced that the government and Canada Post wanted to legislate an end to the strike because it would almost certainly lead to an imposed settlement that would force Canada Post on the breaching issue. Said Parrot: "Arbitration is always imposed by government to screw workers." Parrot served three months in jail in 1968 after defying back-to-work legislation during Canada's 1975 C.I.P.C. strike. Cadieux's bill provides for daily fines of up to \$100,000 for the union, \$50,000 for union leaders and \$10,000 for regular members if they fail. The law. Union vice-president Dennis Tringali called the bill the "most repressive legislation in Canadian history."

Outside the House of Commons, Cadieux defended the legislation by saying that the two sides were so far apart that "there was no chance of reaching a negotiated settlement, short of a protracted strike." But New Democratic party critic Cyril Keenan charged that Cadieux had threatened the union. Said Keenan: "It is by threatening back-to-work legislation, by saying to management, 'All you've got to do is sit on your duff and wait, and we'll bail you out.'"

Union officials warned that Cadieux's legislation, in fact, was an invitation. Said C.I.P.C.'s Tringali: "Legislation will not resolve the problem in the post office. It will only create problems." Last week it became clear that even the threat of legislation had already done that.

—MARC CLARK in Ottawa



The Queen and Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé in Victoria: heavy security

## Charting a new course

For days before the opening of the 15th Commonwealth conference this week in Vancouver, security forces supported by helicopters roamed in the streets and along the Pacific coast city. Squads of RCMP and city police were reinforced by 4,000 members of the Canadian Armed Forces in a \$10-million operation, among the tightest security measures ever mounted in Canada. Their mission was to protect the heads of 43 member governments or their stand-ins during the five-day meeting at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre in downtown Vancouver. The host, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, arrived at the same time to avoid the agita among the legions of Britain and its former colonies over relations with neighbor South Africa.

Security demands were compounded by the presence of the Queen, the titular head of the Commonwealth, who arrived in British Columbia with Prince Philip four days before presiding over the formal conference opening. The royal couple's 16-day itinerary in Canada also included visits to Saskatchewan and Quebec. Meanwhile, the leaders attending the meeting will review old problems and chart a new course. At the two previous Commonwealth meetings—in 1985 at Nassau and last year in London—Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was polarized by many of her Commonwealth colleagues because of her strong opposition to further economic

sanctions against South Africa. In Vancouver, Mulroney planned to focus discussions instead on proposals to assess the so-called frontline states that neighbor the white-ruled nation.

To help reduce the dependence of those states on South Africa, Mulroney's plan was for the Commonwealth to "develop" a railway and port in Mozambique and finance its safety and operation. Said an senior government official: "It would be an exit and provide breathing room for the frontline states in case of boycotts and reprisals."

Mulroney will also call for an end to protectionist agricultural policies that hurt developing countries struggling to feed their expanding populations. As well, he will turn nearly \$250 million in loans to seven Commonwealth countries into grants and lend talks on the international debt crisis.

Last month's military coup in Fiji—the second in five months—may also be on the agenda. The Queen and several Commonwealth countries have condemned the overthrow of Fiji's elected government by Lt.-Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, who declared a republic last week and ended a 115-year-old link with the British Crown. Commonwealth leaders were expected to issue a statement calling for a return to democratic rule. But at week's end, it was unclear whether Fiji would even send a representative to the Vancouver meeting.

—BILLY MACKENZIE with DEBORAH BORTH in Vancouver

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## Exploring an injustice

Patrick Harris was 14 when she watched Donald Marshall Jr. die in a park in Sydney, N.B. The events of that fateful night in May, 1971, are still shrouded in mystery. But the testimony of Harris and two other teen-agers was enough to send Marshall to jail for 11 years for a crime he didn't commit. Last week Harris, now a 36-year-old beauty consultant, took the stand once again with a different story.

She told a royal commission investigating the Marshall affair that police harassed her into giving testimony that linked Marshall to the murder of his companion, Sandy Seale. According to Harris, police detectives would not accept her story that she had seen two other men with Marshall as she walked through the park on her way home from a dance. She said that the police pounded the table and interrogated her relentlessly from 8 p.m. until past midnight. "They were jolting at me, tearing up my statements," she said. "I was crying. I finally signed what they wanted so it would be over."

Lawyers for the detectives challenged Harris's testimony, but it matched with similar stories recounted

last month by two other witnesses. Both John Preston and Margaret Chant told the commission—chaired by Alexander Hinkson, chief justice of the Newfoundland Supreme Court—that police coerced them into testifying against Marshall, a Miqmaq Indian who was 17 when he was convicted of Seale's murder in 1971.

***Altered testimony that presents a disturbing picture of the administration of justice in one corner of Canada***

Preston and Chant were among 28 witnesses who have taken the stand since the commission began its hearings on Sept. 3, relating what they know about the infamous miscarriage of justice that put Marshall in prison. The inquiry, established by the Nova Scotia government, has so far uncovered little that is new. Five trials, two appeals, a review by the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, one book and a pres-

ent royal commission have already explored almost every detail of the Marshall case. But it has provided a disturbing view of the administration of justice in one corner of Canada. Said Martin Tetreault, vice-consul for Donald Marshall at the inquiry: "We're getting a picture of how badly wrong a police investigation can go."

In its early stages the inquiry has been plagued by missing documents and falling memories. But all three of the then-teenaged witnesses agree on one thing: they were ill-treated by police. All three told the inquiry that they had kept the truth to themselves until approached by RCMP investigators in 1982. Marshall was freed this year and later retried and acquitted. Another man, Roy Newman Ebner, was later convicted of manslaughter in connection with Seale's death. Harris said that she feared she would be charged with perjury if she came forward. And Preston said that he thought people would not believe him if he told the truth because of his history as a psychiatric patient. Said Preston: "It was almost the whole damn system." The aim of the Hinkson inquiry is to ensure that the system never goes quite so wrong again.

—MARTIN GIBB with PETER KAPLANACH in Sydney

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# The battle of Judge Bork

It was—as conservative strategists had intended it to be—a moment of high drama. For three days the suspense had built as Judge Robert Bork, Ronald Reagan's apparently doomed Supreme Court nominee, agonized over which of two equally painful courses to take. Then last Friday, after emerging grim-faced from a meeting with Reagan, Bork read a terse statement that reflected his decision to hard-core conservatives: he stands—over the advice of his own family. He would let his name stand, in the face of almost certain defeat.

All week Bork's family had urged him to withdraw as the nominee rather than suffer a potentially humiliating rejection expected from the full Senate this week. But the conservatives had pressed Bork to stay on for a fight that, even if already lost, might win them political offense in the 1986 elections. Bork himself was apparently unmoved, as a matter of principle, that he should let the process continue. It was an attempt, he said, to spare future judicial appointees from the "political campaigning" that he had endured. He also criticized a media and television-drama and lobbying campaign by his opponents.

Reagan hailed Bork's decision. Only the day before he had denounced Bork's fate as "a lynch mob." But White House aides said privately that they are concerned about another confrontation with Capitol Hill, which would be virtually certain to end in further damage to the President's prestige. And there were indications that the Senate fight could become even more bitter. Said Democratic Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas: "I'm not going to be intimidated by talk about a lynch mob."

Bork's 54-to-45 defeat in the Senate Judiciary committee last week, and a wave of condemnations by other senators from both parties, reflected Reagan's own weakened authority. That diminished standing was also a concern for Canadian activists who are counting on the President's clout to push the historic Canadian-U.S. free trade agreement through Congress. Still, most observers claimed that Reagan has been the architect of his own humiliation by declaring Bork's confir-



Bork, right (below), standing in the face of almost certain defeat

mation to the Supreme Court to be his top domestic priority.

Even before the Judiciary committee vote, his outcome had been widely predicted. Key undecided senators—Republican Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and conservative Democrat Dennis

DeConcini of Arizona—had already declared that they could not support the judge's narrow reading of the constitution. They added that his interpretation might be a danger to the rights of blacks, women and sexual minorities. But the most significant vote by a committee member remained a secret until it was cast. Then, when conservative Democrat Howell Heflin of Alabama raised his hand against Bork, he pointed out the way for other southern Democrats whose conservative constituencies had often led them to side with Reagan in the past. Indeed, Heflin's vote started a landslide of southern senators who proclaimed their opposition to Bork. And many Republican analysts blamed the White House for misreading southern politics.

During last year's Senate elections, Reagan had presumably campaigned against many of the southern Democrats whose support he needed last week. As well, Reagan had made control of the Supreme Court a central issue in that campaign, unleashing black voters to whom the majority of House Democrats owed their elec-

tories—and in some ways their party's control of the Senate. As Louisiana's Senator Bennett Johnston observed last month "You're not going to turn your back on 81 per cent of the black voters who got you here." And even Northern Republican senators claimed that Bork's position on civil rights made them, as Rhode Island's Senator John Chafee said, "extremely uncomfortable."

In less than a month, in fact, the Bork debate had turned from whether the Democrats—and dissenting Republicans—could stop his nomination to how the White House would handle his rejection. Credit, and blame, for that turnaround went largely to a sophisticated lobbying strategy that mobilized more than 500 organizations representing labor, women, environmentalists and blacks. Their weapons included a media blitz and a letter-writing campaign of such magnitude that many congressmen were no longer reading their mail on Bork, but weighing it. The expected success of the campaign was indicated by Democratic, whose national leadership was meeting in Washington last week. As presidential contender Senator Paul Simon of Illinois declared, it was proof that the party's traditional coalition of special interests could still work.

Some were intrigued by Democrats were the spectacle of Republicans hurling recriminations at each other. Bork's Senator Charles Grassley blasted the White House for being "sleepy at the switch" and Reagan for taking a holiday while the Democrats were out lobbying all summer. Privately, Bork had confided to friends that he felt betrayed by the White House's failure to campaign hard enough to secure his nomination. And one leading opponent displayed sympathy for Bork's almost certain loss of a lifelong ambition. Said Judiciary committee chairman Joseph Biden of Delaware, whose own presidential aspirations were shattered in the midst of the hearings by charges of plagiarism: "It once looked so certain for him. He was so up. I know how he felt."

Still Biden and others said that they were concerned by what looked like an important inconsistency in Bork's position. The judge claimed that his nationalism had become a partisan political issue, and he asked that "voices be lowered" in advance of the full Senate vote. But Bork's decision to stay in the fight had been influenced by pledges of greatly increased media support from the White House. And that, analysts predicted, would in fact raise the pitch of the political rhetoric—and increase the bitterness.

—MARC DONOFRIO in Washington



Iranian patrol in Persian Gulf: the choppers shook again last Thursday

## THE PERSIAN GULF

### Pressing the attack

Under cover of darkness last week, the Americans struck two Iranian ships in the Persian Gulf—nothing up the danger level in the region's steadily widening conflict. Seventeen days after U.S. army helicopter gunships disabled an Iranian army vessel as it laid mines in international waters, one chopper struck again last Thursday. The brief and fatal engagement began after a U.S. reconnaissance helicopter, escorted by two gunships, drew fire from a group of four Iranian vessels during a routine patrol near Iraq's Fao Island in the northern Gulf. In response, the aircraft, equipped with infrared sensors and advanced night-vision goggles, opened fire on the Iranian fast-attack vessel, disabling two sailors and killing at least two people. The fourth vessel escaped. In Washington, the Pentagon said the helicopters opened fire in self-defense.

Meanwhile, Senate critics of administration policy in the Gulf demanded the implementation of the War Powers Act, which would allow Congress some control over military operations in the Gulf. Indeed, some critics, both in and out of Congress, claimed that the United States is already at war with Iran. That was clearly the official position of the Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Vahdani in a protest note to the United Nations that "responsibility for the start of an all-out war rests on the shoulders of the U.S.A."

Last week's conflict marked the first time that Iranians had fired on

American forces since U.S. ships began escorting oilrigs Kuwaiti oil tankers through the Gulf on July 21. White House spokesman Martin Flitewell said that the battle appeared to be "an isolated incident." But some critics said that the violent outbreak was far more significant. Edward Shtrom of the Center for Defense Information, a liberal research centre in Washington, said that it was "clear evidence the U.S. and Iran are engaged in a war."

There was also support for the American attack. Said Democratic Senator Arlen Specter, chairman of the Senate armed services committee: "Although I have questioned certain aspects of our policy in the Persian Gulf, I have no hesitation whatsoever about the right of American forces to defend themselves when fired upon."

The Americans and the Iranians offered very different versions of the attack. In Washington, Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger said that the Iranians initiated the action by firing tracer rounds at the U.S. helicopters while they were on what the Pentagon described as a routine patrol over international waters. Weinberger said that the gunships had responded with rocket and machine-gun fire, sinking a 40-foot Swedish-built fast patrol boat and disabling two smaller Iranian Whaler-type vessels, which were later captured. He described the fourth vessel, which escaped, as a corvette, a larger type of warship. According to Pentagon officials, six Iranian seamen

were rescued from the water—but two later died of their wounds.

Wenberger told a U.S. Information Agency conference in Washington that the United States was prepared to "teach lessons." He added, "We don't have any desire for war." But he said that he hoped the Iranians would learn "that international open waters are indeed open for innocent, nonbelligerent, vitally important commerce."

In Tehran, the Iranian government news agency IRNA claimed that five of its patrol boats had shot down a U.S. helicopter gunship with surface-to-air Stinger missiles and damaged a U.S. warship. The news agency also said that six Iranian warships captured by the Americans after what it described as a "savage attack." But Wenberger dismissed that claim as "nonsense" and pointed out that the Iranians still claimed that the mines found on the Iranian navy vessel Iran Ajr on Sept. 21 were "bags of groceries."

Meanwhile, the war between Iran and Iraq led to new attacks on merchant ships by both sides. In one of seven air strikes, the Iraqis destroyed a Cyprus-registered tanker, the *Shinling Star*—the first ship to be completely disabled in 300 Iraq and Iranian attacks on Gulf shipping since the war began in September, 1980. Also, an Iranian gunboat attacked a Panamanian-



U.S. helicopter patrol, a brief and fatal engagement.

registered Japanese chemical tanker, setting the engine room afire and wounding three crew members.

In the United States, a debate raged around the issue of what constituted a war. On the floor of the Senate on Friday, Senator Lowell Weicker, a Connecticut Republican, introduced a resolution that would invoke the 1973 War Powers Act—an action that President

Ronald Reagan strongly opposes. "Everybody is lobbying and waving, trying to avoid the law, but it's there and we should follow it," Weicker declared. If invoked, the act would require the President to remove forces from the Gulf within 60 to 90 days unless Congress specifically approved their deployment.

Weicker said that he was not calling for the withdrawal of U.S. forces. But some critics were urging just that—or at least a reduction in the size of the American fleet now in the region. There are now 50 warships and 35,000 soldiers in the American

fleet. Still, Robert Neumann, a U.S. expert on the Middle East, declared that the small Iranian navy and depleted air force would not risk a reprisal attack against the fleet. Said Neumann: "The Iranians might be crazy but they are not stupid."

—KEVIN SCANLON with WILLIAM LINTNER in Washington and correspondents' reports

CHINA

## The monks' rebellion

For weeks the holy men had fared littlestous events. They painted to assess that included a telephone reaching from the Potala Palace—former home of the Dalai Lama—in the roof of the Jokhang Temple, the central shrine of Tibetan Buddhism. Then the smoldering resentment of Tibetans against Chinese rule erupted. Only a few days before last week's 50th anniversary of the Chinese occupation, a crowd of about 2,000—including monks trained in the martial arts—attacked a police station in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, starting a battle that left at least 14 dead. "We hate the Chinese," said a Tibetan woman. "They are not wanted here."

It was the most serious outbreak of violence in years, and it apparently caught the Chinese authorities off guard. They responded by arresting dozens of monks and rushing in armed police reinforcements. Then, after imposing a news blackout, they ordered all 14 Western reporters in Lhasa to leave. As well, the authorities in Beijing hubbed out at the exiled Dalai Lama—the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhists—claiming that he had

stirred up a rebellion. In Dharamsala, India, where he lives in exile, the Dalai Lama responded caustically: "I do not want to discourage the Tibetan people's determination for independence," he said. And is a reference to his negotiations for a possible return to the homeland he fled 35 years ago, he added. "Yet I do not want to stop my direct contact with the Chinese government." But any prospect of his return may have disappeared with the violence in Tibet, which Beijing claims as part of China.

The resentment displayed by Tibetans toward their Chinese masters is a product of a bitter history. Communist troops invaded Tibet in 1953 to secure what they claimed were China's traditional boundaries. In 1959 more than 80,000 Tibetans died in an uprising. Later, Chinese agricultural policies led to widespread famine, while thousands of

Tibetans died in work camps during the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976. In the same period dozens of Buddhist manuscripts were destroyed and hundreds of monks imprisoned. Since 1980, however, the Chinese have been more lenient.

That relaxation, however, may have led to even greater freedom. Last week Tibetan exiles living in



Dalai Lama, 14th.

Ottawa, Toronto, New Delhi and other foreign cities mounted anti-Chinese demonstrations. But diplomatic observers predicted that they would not get significant support. And in Washington—which has increasingly friendly relations with Beijing—a state department official stressed "the clear positive trend in China's policy toward Tibet" over the past few years.

In Lhasa, where an uneasy calm prevailed, one monk insisted that "our dream of the future is that Tibet should take its place among the nations of the world"—and he predicted further violence in support of that goal.

—MARK NEWBOLD with correspondents' reports

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## An orgy of killing

When the governments of India and Sri Lanka signed an accord on July 29 to end the four-year conflict between Sri Lanka's majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil communities, they raised hopes for a permanent peace. As well, the arrival of Indian peacekeeping troops on the island led to a relative calm. This last week, in an orgy of bloodletting, Tamil terrorists slaughtered 180 Sinhalese, the vast majority civilians. In one 24-hour period alone, 27 men, women and children were shot and hacked to death in two fishing villages in the eastern district of Trincomalee, while another 49 people were taken from a train at Valachena and shot. In response, the New Delhi government sent in Indian troops with orders to shoot on sight anyone they saw carrying a weapon. But for many Sinhalese, the order was too late. Standing in the burned rubble of his Trincomalee house, Sinhalese building contractor Piyawesa Gunaratne said "We are outraged. We had guns, but they were all taken by the Indian peacekeeping force. When the Tamils fired, we had to leave."

The wave of death and destruction in

the Tamil-dominated east and north of the island began on Oct. 5 with the mass suicide of 15 Tamil militants in police custody. The gunmen were among those arrested aboard a trawler loaded with weapons and ammunition that was intercepted by the Sri Lankan navy off the coast of Jaffna, in the north. The captives, all suspected members of the largest rebel group,

**Only two months after a historic peace accord Tamil militants shatter the calm with an orgy of murder and bombing**

the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), resplended cyanide. Otherwise, claimed a Tamil spokesman, they would have faced "certain torture" at the hands of the Sinhalese authorities.

In retaliation, fellow members of the Tamil Tigers, who have been fighting for an independent homeland, immediately executed eight Sri Lankan sol-

diers whom they were holding hostage in Jaffna. A frenzy of murder and burning followed. Tamil militants razed Sinhalese villages, attacked public transport and set off a land mine beneath a military vehicle in the eastern town of Batticaloa, killing nine people. In a particularly gruesome incident, rebels shot, wounded and then burned alive a four-man Sinhalese television crew. Last Friday a bomb exploded inside a trade union office in Colombo, killing a union leader. A nationalist Sinhalese group, the People's Liberation Movement, claimed responsibility for the murder.

The violence led to sharp criticism of the Indian troops posted on the island. Demanded Sri Lankan opposition leader Anura Kumaranatne in Parliament. "What are the Indian peacekeeping forces doing? Why are they not acting to stop the violence?" And the Sun, a Colombo daily newspaper, asked, "Why did they allow the wholesale slaughter of the innocents?" Indeed, late last week Sri Lankan President Junius Jayawardene held a news conference that India had made "a mistake" by not moving quickly to disarm Tamil militants. Said Jayawardene: "Some parts of India obligations have not been fulfilled."

Even before last week's explosion of violence, more than 5,000 predominantly



Tamil mourners: cyanide suicides and questions about India's peacekeeping role

ly Buddhist Sinhalese had fled from the Eastern Province. They say that they were driven out by the predominantly Hindu Tamils, who make up 16 per cent of the island's population of 16 million, to ensure victory for the Tam-

ils in next year's proposed referendum as a sepper between the Eastern Province and the Tamil-dominated Northern Province. Said Tamil political spokesman Aiyurathnam Arachathan: "We want the Sinhalese who moved to

the Eastern Province in the last 30 years to leave. We want to make our own land." And the 26-year-old Tamil added that the peace accord did not mean an end to Tamil demands for a separate state. Said Arachathan: "We haven't given up our armed struggle."

Tamil grievances date back to 1948, when Sri Lanka, then called Ceylon, won its independence from Britain and when the Tamil minority, which was prominent in business and the professions, began to lose influence. A civil war broke out in 1983, when a Tamil ambush that killed 12 Sinhalese soldiers led to a bloodbath in which the Sinhalese killed an estimated 2,000 Tamils.

Last late week Indian army chief of staff Gen. Krishna Rao Sengupta said that his troops, now numbering 11,000, would make every effort to end the violence. And a Sri Lankan government spokesman assured the Sinhalese majority that "India would do everything to disarm the Tigers and get all the forces at its command to implement the peace accord." But, he many angry and embittered Sinhalese community leaders said, that is what the Indians vowed to do in the first place.

—KEVIN SCANLON with  
SITA PERANTHAKI in Colombo and  
KEN RAJESAR in Trincomalee

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## The Canadian connection

It was a dramatic new development in the seven-year civil war in Angola. Government troops, supported by Cuban soldiers and commanded by a Soviet general, tried to capture the strategic hub of Namunda from the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). But the South African army, which supports the guerrillas, fought off the attack—using two batteries of long-range howitzers designed by a Canadian-born aviator.

The controversial weapons maker who designed the so-called G-5 155-mm howitzers is Shenyang's former Minister of Defense Bull. Seven years ago Bull spent six months in a U.S. jail for shipping artillery shell casings and prototypes of the G-5 to South Africa in violation of an international arms embargo. Later, a clearly embittered Bull left for Europe, vowing never to return to his native Canada or the United States. Bull, whom a British television journalist once described as a "Canadian Dr. Strangelove," now runs a consulting engineering firm in Brussels, and the way in which the South Africans acquired the Canadian high technology is a textbook example of breaking taboos.

The process began in the late 1970s when one of Canada's biggest defense contractors, Space Research Corp. (SRC), was lured from Montreal by a \$10-million investment from a Belgian company. SRC was then owned by Bull, a brilliant aeronautics engineer whose sensitive military work for the U.S. government led to the granting of U.S. citizenship in 1975 by a special act of Congress. But according to documents uncovered in subsequent investigations of SRC, the Belgian company was in fact owned by Armcor, the manufacturing arm of the South African military, which obtained a 20-per-cent share of Bull's company with its investment.

Earlier, at his sprawling research compound outside of Hughsonville, Que.—with an administrative centre on the other side of the border at North Troy, Vt.—Bull developed the 155-mm gun barrel, which could fire farther and more accurately than any comparable weapon in the world. To do that, he had bought two dozen bar-

rels from a U.S. government agency and redesigned them using advanced computer technology. He added a computer-operated firing system to the weapon—which is also capable of firing nuclear warheads—giving it an effective range of 20 km. And Bull developed the unique design of the shells using his own high-technology software—giving the gun pinpoint accu-



Racial socialist with wreckage of Soviet helicopter, help from a "Canadian Dr. Strangelove"

Two prototypes were tested on a Caribbean island—and from there they were shipped secretly to South Africa.

But the arrangement collapsed in 1977. At that time, then-Zimbabwean guerrilla leader Joshua Nkomo told an Ottawa news conference that more than 900 tons of armaments had been shipped from Canada to South Africa and Zimbabwe. A subsequent investigation by the RCMP and the U.S. justice department led to the arrest of Bull in the United States on charges of violating the 1977 United Nations embargo on arms to South Africa. In a Vermont courtroom in 1980, Bull pleaded guilty to illegally exporting two 155-mm gun barrels, 30,000 artillery shell casings and one radar

tracking system. He served a six-month sentence at Alford Federal prison camp in Pennsylvania.

Bull, working from the prototypes provided by SRC, the South Africans were able to develop an operational G-5 howitzer, which the authoritative *International Defence Review* recently reported to be the best 155-mm gun in the world. Indeed, the 1977 UN embargo on arms to South Africa led to the growth of a major domestic arms industry South Africa now produces—and sells to its allies at a handsome profit—the G-5 and a

motorized version, the G-6.

Last week, evidence of the G-5's deadly accuracy was clear from the carnage around the Lomba River, 30 km north of Namibia. UNITA rebels claimed that 332 government troops and seven unidentified Soviets were killed in the battle. They also claimed to have captured nearly 200 vehicles, including four Soviet-built T-56 tanks and mobile radar units. Clearly, the introduction of the Canadian-designed arms raises serious doubts about the effectiveness of any kind of sanctions against the renegade South African regime.

—ANDREW BELLIS with PETER TRENCHARD and in Montreal and CLERUS BERNARD in Cape Town



# Investing In Our Future



**D**uring National Universities' Week, October 24 to November 1, universities across Canada will be using the theme "Investing In Our Future" to illustrate their vital role in community, regional and national development. Through open house programs, special lectures, exhibits and a host of other community events, universities will be inviting all Canadians to share in some of the exciting achievements taking place on campuses from St. John's to Victoria, Athabasca to Windsor.

In the pages that follow, you'll find a sampling of those achievements. They are a testament to the great things that happen when our society sets as one of its priorities the development of a resource that has almost limitless potential—our people.

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# Universities - a vital part of our community

**C**anada's universities are our window on the world, a world of new ideas, research breakthroughs and exciting innovations. They're where we get to know ourselves, our traditions and values and the great thinkers who have helped shape our society. They're our introduction to other people, other places, other times. And universities are where we're building our future, making our best resource - our people - even better.

Each year we Canadians invest hundreds of millions of dollars in our universities. Part of that investment goes to support research and the returns are significant. And even though we may not always be aware of it, the work going on in our universities is touching our lives every day.

University researchers are discovering better and more efficient ways of using our natural resources and preserving the quality of our environment. Together with the private sector, they're developing new sources of energy to fuel our industries and make them more competitive in international markets. Researchers in the social sciences and humanities are contributing to our understanding of the human condition. They are helping to answer those eternal



questions that men and women have been asking themselves since the dawn of civilization as well as the new questions arising as a result of advances in technology. In fact, in every field of human endeavor, universities are at the forefront of knowledge, giving us a glimpse of the future and a fresh appreciation of our past. Universities are probably best known as places of learning. They provide the environment and the

resources for people to satisfy their curiosity about themselves and their world. They help us to express ourselves and give form and substance to our creative energies. Increasingly, universities are seen as an important source of highly skilled professionals. They are providing training and skills development opportunities for entry into a broad range of professions and they are helping those already in the workplace keep abreast of the latest developments in their fields. Continuing education and special admissions programs ensure opportunities to those who have the ability and the determination to succeed.

Universities are also about community service. In cities and towns across Canada, universities are reaching out to the broader community through services such as low-cost dental care, legal aid, farm extension services and business and career counselling. That same spirit of service is found in the universities' international development efforts where Canadian scholars and researchers are working with their counterparts overseas to improve the quality of life in developing countries.

Canadian universities - by investing in them, we're investing in our future.

## Canada's universities - a public trust

**C**anadian universities are among North America's oldest social institutions. In fact, one of them - *Université Laval* - traces its history to more than two hundred years before Confederation.

Most of Canada's oldest universities were established and, in their

formative years, supported by religious organizations. Government involvement in higher education at that time was minimal. That was still the case in 1867 when the federation agreement that gave birth to Canada assigned responsibility for education to the provinces. Large-scale government

involvement in higher education began during the early years of that century as the governments of Canada's four western provinces began setting up provincially chartered universities in much the same way as land grant colleges were established in the United States.

Ottawa's involvement in post-secondary education took on increasing importance during World War II when it enlisted the universities' cooperation in supporting Canada's war effort. Later, it turned to the universities again to provide education and training benefits to returning veterans. The universities responded by initiating new programs and enrolling as grew as they met the increased demand.

Government financial support of our universities expanded as they underwent a period of spectacular growth in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. In the seven years between 1955 and 1962, full-time university enrolment doubled. It doubled again between 1962 and 1968. Part-time enrolment, too, underwent phenomenal growth. Between 1962 and 1968 it nearly tripled. To keep pace with the educational needs of the 'baby-boom' generation, 19 new universities were granted provincial charters.

University enrolments con-

tinued to grow through the 1970s and 1980s, but at a somewhat slower rate. Preliminary enrolment figures for 1985-86 show 441,649 full-time and 346,450 part-time students at the undergraduate level with another 32,700 full-time and 55,740 part-time students at the graduate level.

In 1984-1985, provincial government operating grants accounted for 61.9 per cent of total university income. The federal government contributed indirectly to those grants by transferring cash and tax points to the provinces which, in 1985, were valued at an estimated \$4.5 billion. Direct federal grants, mainly in support of university-based research accounted for 9.2 per cent of total university income. Tuition fees made up another 11.2 per cent and the remaining 17.5 per cent was derived from donations, the sale of university services and investment income.

Taken together, universities in Canada reflect this country's unique cultural, social, religious and political mores. They mirror

the rich diversity found among our indigenous peoples, our two founding cultures and the many other ethnic groups who have come together to form the Canadian family. Their governing bodies represent interests that are both public and private, religious and secular, English and French. Their program offerings respond to national and provincial priorities as well as to those of local communities. And their mission statements affirm their commitment to balance the growing demand for specialized programs and applied research with the long-standing objectives that continue to be the hallmark of university teaching and research.

Those objectives - the freedom to pursue knowledge in all fields, to explore the new, to challenge the old, to ask questions and to offer answers - are founded on the premise that material gain is not, nor should it ever be, the sole motivation for expressing creative genius and satisfying human curiosity.

## WHEN UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO CHEMIST JOHN POLANYI WON THE NOBEL PRIZE IN CHEMISTRY IT SHOULD NOT HAVE COME AS A SURPRISE.



Photo by CTV/REUTERS

Canada's scientists and engineers rank with the best in the world in many advanced disciplines. We know, because it's our business to recognize excellence and nurture it.

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## University research - knowing ourselves, seeing tomorrow

**C**anadians rely on their universities for nearly all of this country's basic research and much of its applied research. University research projects are funded through a variety of sources both public and private. These federal granting councils are the single most important source of basic research support in the health sciences, engineering and the natural sciences, and the social sciences and humanities.

In 1987-1988 guaranteed federal support for the three councils will amount to \$536.7 million. Under the terms of a new policy Ottawa will provide the councils with up to \$33.5 million in additional funding this year to match private sector contributions to university-based research projects.

Thus new government policy is evidence of the increasing impor-

tance being attached to university-private sector cooperation aimed at promoting Canada's industrial and commercial development. Now more than ever, corporate leaders and their university counterparts are searching for new opportunities to match the university's intellectual resources with the private sector's entrepreneurial expertise.

Results can be impressive. Over the last 10 years research activities at the University of British Columbia, for example, have led to the creation of 35 spin-off companies to market new technologies that were either developed or discovered by UBC researchers. These companies, in turn, created some 2,300 new jobs. Last year alone they reported gross sales of more than \$40 million.

The benefits of applied research are fairly easy to understand. But what about basic research? Why are university administrators and faculty so concerned that the new emphasis on applied research not be allowed to jeopardize the university's ability to undertake the kinds of research activities that are inspired by simple curiosity?

The value of university research cannot be measured in terms of utility alone. By contributing to mankind's body of knowledge, uncovering the mysterious, unravelling the complex and shedding new light on the familiar, the university researcher has done something of value. We may never be able to assess the value of that contribution in material terms. However, we need look no further than our own personal computers to see what can happen when knowledge is pursued for its own sake. If researchers in the early years of this century had not explored the field of theoretical mathematics—which at the time gave no indication of having practical applications—the development of the computer might have been delayed by years or even decades.

University research—whether aimed at changing the world or just getting to know it better, saving lives or giving them meaning—is more important to Canadians than ever. Here are just a few examples of the kinds of achievements we are seeing among members of the Canadian university research community.

- University of Toronto astronomer Ian Shelton is being credited with one of the most important finds of this century. Shelton, who was working at a university observatory in the Chilean Andes, last February discovered a new supernova—closer to Earth than any observed in nearly 600 years. Studies of the exploding star promise new insights into our understanding of the nature of the universe and how it was formed.
- A University of Prince Edward Island biologist is attempting to recondition salmon to spawn every year instead of every two years. If successful, the process could replenish salmon stocks twice as quickly.
- An engineering professor at Simon Fraser University has developed a process that could revolutionize the production of integrated microchip circuitry. The new "quick chip"

fabricating system can produce complicated, customized microchips in one day rather than the usual four weeks to a year.

■ Researchers at the Université du Québec's Institut Armand-Frappier have developed the first Canadian test that detects the presence of AIDS antibodies. The test kit is already commercially available. The institute is also responsible for developing a vaccine to fight bacterial meningitis. The vaccine is being widely used in China.

■ Research at the University of Manitoba into Kh disease has led to the development of procedures now being used to prevent diseases that once claimed the lives of countless newborns.

■ Researchers at the University of British Columbia have developed a faster, more accurate way of diagnosing multiple sclerosis. MS affects some

30,000 Canadians and has traditionally been a difficult disease to diagnose.

■ A University of Ottawa scientist is perfecting an inexpensive vaccine for the hepatitis B virus. Inoculations now on the market cost as much as \$330. The new vaccine will cost as little as \$9.

The same researcher is also working to ward a vaccine against AIDS.

■ McGill University's Centre for Studies in Age and Aging is studying the effects of a recently discovered chemical that may slow the effects of Alzheimer's disease.

■ A Queen's University philosophy professor is focusing much of her research on the issue of reproductive ethics, including such issues as surrogate motherhood and test-tube fertilization. As medical advances such as these become more common, philosophers will need to explore the resulting



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M. J. (Mac) Cross  
PRESIDENT & CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER



moral and social questions.

- An anthropology and criminology professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland is looking into the personality traits of people who have been convicted of multiple murders. His work may help enforcement authorities detect and predict what triggers these crimes.
- Researchers at the University of Windsor have begun a three-year study to investigate PCB and dioxin levels in plants and animals living along the St. Clair River. Their work will help investigators determine whether industries along the

waterways are reducing the amounts of toxic wastes being discharged into the river.

- Research being undertaken at Dalhousie University into the effects of winter storms and ocean waves could lead to better safety measures for off-shore oil rigs and gas pipelines.

- After 10 years of work, University of Western Ontario chemical engineers have perfected an ultra-fast, high-temperature reactor that can be used to convert forest waste into plastics and synthetic gasoline.

- A plant ecologist at the University of Saskatchewan has developed a new strain of wheat that produces yields up to eight per cent higher than standard varieties.

- The weekend ritual of plodding behind the lawnmower may be a thing of the past thanks to researchers at the University of Alberta. The scientists have developed a strain of slow-growing, self-weeding lawn grass that is drought and disease resistant, requires no fertilization and needs mowing only twice a year.



Universities are developing innovative ways of delivering their teaching services to an increasingly diverse clientele. Distance education programs that employ recent advances in telecommunications technology as well as more traditional forms of correspondence are bringing university courses, and in some cases whole degree programs, to people living hundreds of kilometers away from university centres. Meanwhile, through extension courses universities are reaching out to the community in other ways, offering classes in suburban shopping malls, factories and government and corporate offices. And universities are providing special programs to help prepare non-traditional students, members of minority groups, people with physical disabilities and the learning disabled for the rigors of academic life.

These developments and the demands of a employment market that places a premium on life-long learning are changing the face of the Canadian student body. One of the most significant changes has been in the number of women attending university. In 1984-85, women accounted for 51.4 per cent of total university enrollment in Canada. A decade earlier, that figure was 45.0 per cent and in 1925-26 it was just 20.9 per cent.

There are also more mature students attending university. In 1975-76, students 24 years of age and older accounted for 25.4 per cent of total enrollment. By 1984-85 that figure had jumped to 42.8 per

cent. Similar increases have occurred in the number of part-time students.

Today, Canadians are attending university in record numbers. In the decade between 1973-76 and 1984-85 university enrolments increased by nearly a third. The attraction? Perhaps it is because, on the basis of educational attainment, university graduates have the lowest rate of unemployment—less than half the national average.

## Reaching out to the community - next door and around the world

The image of the university as an ivory-towered retreat cut off from the pressures and concerns of the real world should be confined to mythology. Canadian universities are an integral part of the community, each year pumping hundreds of millions of dollars into local economies and providing a broad range of services not only to individuals and groups in this country, but to communities all around the world.

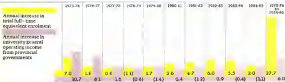
In terms of economic impact, for example, a recent study has found that the University of Alberta each year injects, either directly or indirectly, more than \$440 million into Edmonton's economy through

its purchase of goods and services. This is more than double the \$202 million the university received in government operating grants in 1985-86. In addition, the university employs about 10,000 people, making it the third largest employer in the city. On a typical fall day, the on-campus population reaches about 35,000—the size of a small city. The economic spillover generated by university students and staff are tremendous.

Meanwhile, universities are reaching out into the community, both near and far, in other ways through a host of special services and overseas development projects.

- More than 1,000 people visit the University of British Columbia's sports medicine clinic each week for treatment of sports-related injuries. Clinic staff also serve as consultants to various Canadian athletic teams including the Olympic hockey team and the national ski and track and field teams.
- Dalhousie University is making its Envoy electronic mail system available to Nova Scotia schoolchildren so they can link up with their counterparts in Oregon. The students use the computer communications system as an electronic bulletin board to discuss subjects such as Greek mythology and Nova Scotia history.
- The University of Calgary operates a 24-hour crisis nursery for infants and young children. Children can stay at

- the nursery for up to 72 hours during family emergencies such as sudden illness, marital conflicts or housing problems.
- The University of Alberta is working with a university in Cameroon to develop a primary health care system and a postgraduate medical education program. Meanwhile, closer to home, the university's student-run legal assistance service has provided legal help to an estimated 150,000 clients since it was set up nearly 20 years ago.
- Brandon University has teamed up with a university in Mexico to improve the quality of primary education in that country.
- Université Laval and the Centre canadien d'études et de coopération internationale, a private sector organization,



■ Universities are growing apace. In the decade between 1973-76 and 1984-85 Canadian enrolment rose by 33 per cent. Operating income grew by 25 per cent.

■ A sharp rise in university operating income during more than two decades mirrored increases of almost 100 per cent in government grants for university operating costs (increased by 50 per cent in constant dollars between 1973-76 and 1984-85).

## University teaching - an enduring mission

For more than 800 years, Western civilization has looked to its universities to preserve and expand its store of knowledge. Not only are universities important centres of innovation, they are also our links to the past—to the great minds who have helped shape our society, determine our values and define our political, social and cultural institutions.

Developing our own creative abilities and introducing us to the kaleidoscope of human genius remain two important objectives of university teaching. That is a big assignment, particularly in today's world of rapid technological ad-

vancement and lightning-paced change. Just how fast are these changes taking place? In the 1980s, it took the human race about 100 years to double its store of knowledge. Today that process takes just two years.

To keep up with this ever-expanding stock of knowledge, universities are introducing literally hundreds of highly specialized programs that only a generation ago would have been unimaginable—engineering agronomy, paleontology, fisheries engineering, urban land econometrics and applied lexicology—to name just a few. Through programs such as these, universities are keeping pace with the increasingly complex demands of the modern marketplace, providing employment opportunities in fields that would

make our grandparents shake their heads in wonder. There are other programs with less exotic-sounding names that are every bit as important and where the advances in knowledge have often been every bit as dramatic. Progress in history, philosophy, literature, political science and religious studies introduce students to a process of analysis, critical thought and self-expression that can be applied to a broad range of human endeavors. Courses in these areas of more traditional study also help students in professional programs develop the kind of perspective they will need to perform their jobs responsibly. But perhaps most importantly, they offer all students a clearer understanding of the world and their place within it.

## Brainpower. Made in Canada.

### Financial crisis

Our universities and colleges are facing their greatest challenge.

Now is the time for responsible Canadian business and industry to heed the call and support our schools of higher learning by volunteering time. Giving political support. And money.

Maintaining a society stream of quality graduates from our universities and colleges, helps guarantee Canada's bright future.

The bottom line is heightened self-interest.

We believe a strong university system helps keep Canadian business strong.



are offering a training program in international cooperation. The multi-disciplinary program is available in both Montreal and Quebec City.

■ The University of Guelph offers Saturday classes to help would-be farmers turn their dreams into reality. This year the program includes a course on buying rural property how to build a pond and how to construct a greenhouse.

■ Laurentian University offers a foreign languages translation service that provides emergency translations in more than 40 languages. The service is staffed by volunteer faculty and staff and is often used in hospital emergencies or preparing visa applications and wills.

■ The Université du Québec at Rimouski this year hosted more than 400 specialists from 60 countries at a conference on small scale fisheries and economic development.

■ The University of Manitoba operates a 24-hour poison control hot line that provides

emergency information about toxic substances.

■ The Université de Moncton is cooperating with a number of institutions in Nicaragua to develop the human resources needed to improve nutrition in that country. With the university's help, the Central American nation will soon be graduating its first food science specialists. Through programs in food science and food technology, workers are learning how to process local foods and increase their availability year round.

■ A staffed station at Mount St. Helens University has teamed up with 18 local restaurants to promote better eating habits. During the six-week project, various nutrition information materials designed by a panel of food and nutrition experts were used to encourage lunchtime customers to choose foods low in fat, salt and sugar. The program has brought an enthusiasm response from restaurant patrons, staff and managers alike.

## Universities - making a sound investment in our future

"Our future doesn't need to be a source of anxiety. But if we don't commit more of our resources—human and fiscal—to the task of building that future, if we don't address this country's need for an innovative, highly educated, highly skilled and highly motivated people, quite simply—if we don't take seriously the need for advanced education and research, our future will be bleak."

W. Andrew Mackay  
President, University  
Associations of Ontario  
and Colleges of Canada

while 46 per cent of the respondents in the same poll said universities should be provided with more funding support.

These findings echo a 1986 opinion poll undertaken in Ontario where almost half of the respondents said more money should be spent on universities while another 34 per cent said public expenditures on higher education should keep pace with inflation.

As we meet the challenges of a knowledge-based society, our ability to maintain a high standard of living and a system of values that reflect the basic underpinnings of our civilization will depend upon our willingness to invest in institutions that have at their mission the generation of wealth—both material and spiritual.

Among those institutions are our universities. They are investing in our future. That is why it is so important to invest in theirs.

Advertising supplement.

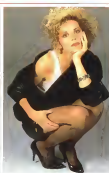
## PEOPLE

With her husky voice and sultry features, **Helen Shawer** is one of the sexiest actresses in movies. She is also active, having appeared in 20 movies—including the 1981 Oscar winner *The Color of Money*—during her 15-year professional acting career. And on Oct. 24 the Vancouver International Film Festival will honor the 25-year-old actress from St. Thomas, Ont., with a special tribute. The master of ceremonies, **Steven Van Der Meer**, who hosts the sophisticated entertainment show *City Lights*, says that he has admired Shawer since he first interviewed her in 1974. Said Van Der Meer: "Helen is a simply beautiful woman with a surprisingly wonderful voice. When you meet her, you sit there spellbound."

The winner of the remote *Blades* by riding in last week's Northwest Territories election, **Charles Crow**, 43, is hard to find since he is not landlocked. Indeed, he said that dealing with his kids led him to seek elected office. Explained Crow: "Being Noddy, I've been unable to hunt, so we lived off store food. That convinced me to run and fight for reduced prices for northerners." Crow, an Inuit, community radio announcer from Sheslayuk, a Hudson Bay island community 1,200 km northwest of Quebec City, said that he pays \$5.10 for a dozen eggs and runs for a loaf of bread. The cow milk, lost his sight at 16 from phosphenia, but said his blindness is not a handicap. He added, "I'm used to travelling, and my wife helps me."

Sensational and TV host **David Suzuki** says that his just-published autobiography started out as something else entirely. Said Suzuki, 51: "At first I

Suzuki revealing: babies, stereotypes and passion



Shawer: Woods [photo] sexy and sinister

thought, I'm too young for an autobiography, and it would be incredibly self-indulgent." The book, he added, began as a collection of essays. But after the publisher persuaded him to add biographical details—including his childhood internment during the Second World War along with 12,000 other Japanese-Canadian—Suzuki began writing an autobiography. *Metamorphosis* has the preface and last of

one written, "If you are possessed of the normal set of biological organs, the ending must be as fun with the right person." Still, she adds, "All too often I bypassed the ending much and followed the instincts and urges of my heart." Such a woman took her into a career of 8 months that failed to win her a single *Ambush Award* nomination throughout her 15-year career.

The adopted son of President **Ronald Reagan** now has a job in the entertainment business, hosting a syndicated game show produced at Vancouver. Said **Michael Reagan**, a 42-year-old businessman and powerboat racer, who lives in Los Angeles: "People always wondered why I was not in the family business—writing game shows, hosting that type of thing—and now I'm in it." That seems only fitting: Michael was adopted during Reagan's first marriage, to actress **Jane Wyman**, now a star of TV's *Falcon Crest*. *Loose*, the show that brings Reagan to Vancouver for week-long taping sessions each month, is a word-passing game that first aired last month on Global TV in Canada, and is syndicated in over 20 other major U.S. cities. Said Reagan: "The greatest compliment we got from the Canadian crew is that it doesn't look like a Canadian-produced show."

With his jaw, intense face, actor **James Woods** has frequently been cast in sinister roles. He confesses that patterns in the new movie *Red Sorcerer*, playing a wicked-looking man who uses his story for publication to a police detective and writer.

Woods, 43, says that he has felt frustrated that producers have often treated him as a villain. Still, the Utah-born actor—who earned a best actor Oscar nomination for the 1986 movie *Silverado*—says that filmmakers are now considering him for some heroic roles. Said Woods: "The great leading men have really been rather offbeat, whether it be **Humbert Borge**, at *Pelindaba* or **Dustin Hoffman**. They aren't the typical blond-haired, blue-eyed, square-jawed types."

—TYNNE COX with *metamorphosis* reports

# Fleet Street's shake-out

As the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, Britain's most widely read serious newspaper, Mac Hastings has a reputation to be worthy of new competition. When a rival daily, *The Independent*, appeared on the newsstands last year, Hastings conveyed his congratulations to the staff of the new paper with a bottle of champagne, along with a smile and the message: "Good luck. Now we are going to bury you." While Hastings' greeting was not managerial—and many of *The Independent's* employees were former *Telegraph* workers—the success of the new paper is no joke. Far from being buried, *The Independent* has carved out a comfortable niche for itself in one of the world's most fiercely competitive newspaper markets. Its creation was a fine achievement," Hastings acknowledged last week on his new rival's first anniversary. He added, "At a time when there has been a lot of speculation in the industry, *The Independent* has set a very high standard of professionalism."

The year-old paper is expected to start receiving a profit next year. And its success is one of many factors that are now shaking up the one-way world of Britain's press barons. In the past 18 months five other major new daily and Sunday papers have rolled off the presses. Of these, two have run into serious financial difficulty and a third has already gone out of business. Meanwhile, at least three well-known investors—including London-based tycoon Rupert Murdoch, who already controls a third of Britain's newspaper market—are considering takeover bids for all or part of Pearson PLC, a London-based conglomerate that owns the highly respected *Financial Times* and *Archway Press*, a publishing outfit with the London brokerage firm of James Capel & Co. "The last couple of years have been a period of great upheaval in the British newspaper industry, and it's not over yet."

In that atmosphere, the survival of *The Independent* (circulation 355,940) was a major achievement. For one thing, the new paper had to compete for readers with nine existing national dailies, ranging from the serious papers such as *The Times*, the *Financial Times* and *The Guardian* to sensationalist tabloids, including *The Sun*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Star*.

In addition, the paper appeared at a

editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, spent more than a year laying the groundwork for the new paper. Armed with extensive market surveys, he managed to talk 33 institutional investors into parting up the initial \$10 million needed for the launch. Like Shih, Whitman Smith said that it was possible to challenge Britain's established press giants, which have been forced by their critics to retain costly, outdated print-



This *Independent's* newspaper takes over and now faces in the cozy world of British press barons

time when many British investors had serious doubts about the feasibility of starting a new national newspaper. Only seven months earlier, flamboyant British entrepreneur Eddie Shah had tried to revolutionize the industry by using computerized typesetting equipment to launch a new full-color tabloid, *Today*. But poor sales forced Shah to relinquish control of the paper in September, 1988, and after changing hands twice, *Today* is now part of Murdoch's publishing empire, News International PLC, which also includes *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Sun* and the weekly *News of the World*.

The founders of *The Independent* were determined not to repeat Shah's mistakes. The paper's editor, Andrew Whitman Smith, 34, a former financial

ing methods, by taking advantage of more efficient state-of-the-art technology. That new hardware, which is widely used in North America, but was only recently introduced in Britain, allows journalists to type articles directly into computers connected to typesetting equipment. But while Shah had invested heavily in new presses, Whitman Smith decided that it would be cheaper to contract out the printing work to existing companies.

As a journalist, Whitman Smith also knew that the paper's success depended on the abilities of its reporters and editors. In contrast to *Today*, where many of the staff were young and inexperienced, Whitman Smith set out to recruit some of Britain's best-known print journalists. Said Jonathan Peck, a

44, national affairs editor of *The Independent* and a former BBC news anchor for *The Evening*, the respected weekly British newsmagazine. "The launch of the paper was extremely carefully prepared. We took as journalists who were the best in their fields."

Hiring good journalists turned out to be one of the least of Whitman Smith's problems. The reason: morale was extremely low on Fleet Street—the term still used to describe Britain's national press, even though most of the newspapers have moved away from their traditional address. The staff at Murdoch's *Times* and Sunday *Times* was particularly vulnerable. Said Patricia Clough, a former domestic affairs reporter for *The Times*, who moved to *Today* as one of *The Independent's* 37 feature correspondents. "I suppose you could say that a lot of us joined the new paper out of idealism. There was a feeling that the standards elsewhere were falling and that papers like *The Times* were becoming too right-wing."

Indeed, *The Independent* has broken with Fleet Street tradition on several fronts. For a start, the paper's management banned employees from accepting free trips or other gifts from government agencies or private firms because that would undermine the paper's integrity. "I suppose it has something to do with my religious background," Whitman Smith, the son of an Anglican minister, said last year. As well, the newspaper has decided to take part in regular off-the-record briefings for the British press by senior government officials. Critics of that practice say that the government was the briefings to plant stories in the media without identifying itself as the source.

*The Independent* does not have any apparent political allegiance. That in itself sets the newspaper apart from its direct competitors, *The Times*, the *Financial Times* and the *Telegraph* all support the governing Conservatives, while *The Guardian* leans toward the opposition Labour Party. Said Robert McInnes, managing manager for *The*



Murdoch's 'great upheaval' and failure in the industry

*Independent*. "When we started off we knew that it was important to take an independent stance. As it happens, that was one of the things our readers say they like most about us." Even

many senior civil servants applaud the paper's nonaligned policy. "It's refreshing to read a newspaper that hasn't already made up its mind on most issues," said one Foreign Office official who asked not to be named.

The success of *The Independent* contrasts with the experience not only of *Today* but also of the London *Daily News*, a left-leaning tabloid that failed in July after only five months. Founded by Robert Maxwell, a long-time Labour supporter, the paper attracted less than 100,000 readers, a third of its sales target, and it was losing an average of £100,000 a week. Another new paper, the weekly *News on Sunday*, is still being published but had to go into receivership less than

## New standards of vulgarity

Screeching headlines, tasteless gossip about a lady's wife who "kissed the Ladies" while engaging in sexual intercourse with off-duty soldiers. Former features editor Ian Mayhew, for one, said that he quit after the paper quoted a 16-year-old schoolgirl as saying she "loved the idea of having a 'big' with a vicar."

The victim of an attempted rape, said Mayhew: "It has become a newspaper I can't take home because I have two young children."

But despite the fact that *The Star's* circulation has jumped by 75,000 copies a day, the tabloid's owners may soon be forced to reconsider their strategy.



Reading *The Star*: Wilkings readers

Now, in an attempt to close the circulation gap, *The Star* has decided to give readers what they want: fewer news stories, more tabloid features—and still more bare breasts. Declared Michael Goffard, 52, the paper's new editor: "*The Star* is vulgar. Vulgarity is a very good thing in a popular newspaper."

Goffard's critics, however, complain that the new format exceeds the limits of acceptable journalism. About a dozen reporters and editors have left the paper since Sept. 4, the day *The Star* un-

dered its new look with a front-page story about a lady's wife who "kissed the Ladies" while engaging in sexual intercourse with off-duty soldiers. Former features editor Ian Mayhew, for one, said that he quit after the paper quoted a 16-year-old schoolgirl as saying she "loved the idea of having a 'big' with a vicar."

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—BOB LAYNE in London

two months after its first issue in April.

The rest of Fleet Street's papers are fighting to maintain their share of the market in the face of new competition. The spirit of change has been most evident at the Telegraph, which Toronto-based millionaire Conrad Black acquired for \$60 million in 1985. For years the tradition-bound paper suffered from a serious image problem, market research showed that young people tended to view the paper as being so dull and boring that they did not want to be seen carrying a copy. As a result, Black hired a team of new managers and editors with new traditions to modernize the paper's layout and editorial content. According to Hastings, 61, the paper has gained over 40,000 readers in the past year, reversing a 15-year decline in circulation. But he added "It's too early to be triumphant. It will continue to be very competitive."

According to some industry analysts, the next British newspaper to change hands could be the Financial Times (circulation 200,000). The paper is currently owned by Thomson, a 500-company family-controlled conglomerate with wide-ranging interests that include Penguin books, Royal Dutch/Shell, Madonna Tassard's wine works, Lazard Brothers merchant bank, Chateau Laeken vineyards and 50 per cent of Telecom+. Last month Murdoch's News International PLC declared that it spent \$270 million to build up a 16.8-per-cent stake in Pearson.

Murdoch's purchase led to rumors that the company was vulnerable to a takeover. Sir Peter "Murdock" probably looked at the Financial Times and concluded that there was no reason it couldn't sell a million copies a day. After all, there are a billion people in the world who read English, and the market for business publications is growing all the time. "Other observers note that Murdoch's Hong Kong-based News China Morning Post could be used to launch an Asian edition of the Financial Times."

Murdock himself says that he will not try to acquire Pearson for the next 12 months—unless someone else launches a takeover bid first. That may happen. At least two other international ventures are writing in the wings. Maxwell, who publishes the mass-circulation tabloid Daily Mirror and recently bought almost five per cent of Pearson, and Italian financier Carlo De Benedetti, who owns 10 per cent of Pearson. As one London-based investment banker put it, "The valuations are flying overhead." And the battle for British newspaper readers shows no sign of ending.

## Partners for the Post

It is a powerful alliance of international newspaper interests and Canadian business. Two weeks ago the Toronto Star Publishing Corp. said that it would acquire the Toronto-based Financial Post weekly newspaper from Madison Harrier Ltd. At the time of the announcement, executives from the Star also said that the Post—and a new business daily that it planned to launch—would be operated as a separate company. Then, late last week, with media Coughlin, president of Star Publishing, flew to London to discuss bringing a potential partner into the Post subsidiary Coughlin, who was interviewed in London, refused to identify the party other than to say that it was a London-based concern. But a source close to the negotiations said that Coughlin offered the Financial Times a minority stake in the Post and that "the offer likely will be accepted."

Already, Coughlin had lined up Canada's former Conrad Black as a partner in the venture, which would be a 50-50 joint venture. Coughlin offered the Financial Times a minority stake in the Post and that "the offer likely will be accepted."

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low is strongly opposed to a possible acquisition of Pearson by Australian-born media magnate Rupert Murdoch.

For Star Publishing and its future daily Post, an ownership stake by Financial Times would create prestige and an inexpensive source of international business and economic news. For its part, the Financial Times—self-described as Europe's business newspaper—would move one step closer to its long-held ambition of having a truly international presence. Publishing industry experts say that it sells only about

3,000 copies a day in Canada of an edition that it prints at a plant in New Jersey. One Fleet Street source said that the deal with Coughlin would also counter recent criticism by Murdoch's associates that the Financial Times has failed to exploit the world market.

Meanwhile, Coughlin confirmed that he was in London earlier this year to investigate the market for a new London daily, although he gave no indication of having abandoned the project. At the same time, Black, who is known for his conservative, pro-business views, was apparently seeking further acquisitions in British newspaper publishing.

In a report carried in the Financial Times in August, Black was said to plan to launch English-language daily papers in Montreal and Ottawa. At the time, Black said that he liked owning newspapers because they were both interesting and profitable—and because they gave him access to everything he wanted to read. And he added that he would like to own more of them. Black told the Financial Times "I want to build a first-class international newspaper company and I think the assets are formidable." After the promising meeting in London between Coughlin and Barlow, Black's ambition to reach the top of the international publishing world seemed to be a little closer to realization.

—PATRICIA BERT with SARA LAYNE in London



Black's "voice of the nation"

# Forgive us if we sound a bit immodest, but it's time we blew our horn.



## Honk.

Midway asks, we're thrilled to tell you that Chevrolet has sold more than 50 million cars around the world.\*

Of course, some say that being big doesn't necessarily mean being best.

In Chevy's case, we like to believe this just isn't so. Allow us to test our horns a little and tell you why Honk.



## Honk.

Back in 1911, Louis Chevrolet started a car company with the notion that you could build a high-quality car without a really high price.



\*Based on registered total of sales in 1992 for Chevrolet/General in North America. For North America, the most widely used company (GM).

\*Based on first 100,000 Chevrolet cars sold in North America. Chevrolet is the only car company in the world to have sold more than 100,000 cars in every country.

\*Based on mid-range sales. Chevrolet is the most widely used car company in the world.

Some things never change. For instance, a while ago our engineers and designers had the idea that you could build a fairly-curved, spirited, aerodynamically-designed automobile for a fraction of the price of many imports. So they took two of them.

The Beretta. And the Corvair. From Road and Track, "In the handling department, we found the Beretta a profoundly surprising package."

From Wards Auto: "World on the Beretta." "Best looking midsize car, bar none."

And from Motor Trend on the Corvair, "Our test car has blown respect into the efficacy of these [Chevrolet's] sophisticated construction techniques developing it and finishes of comendably high caliber throughout."

Enough said. Honk, honk.

## Honk.

In the instant of economy—both years and ours—Chevrolet has one of the cheapest selections of small cars in the world.

Add them all up and there are 35 different models in our Sprint, Corvair, Cavalier, Camaro and

Corvair, Camaro and Corvair series.

(The Sprint, by the way, gets an unbeatable 49 L/100 km or 58 mpg\*\* and is just about the lowest priced car in its class.)

There's every load of car design, too. Hatchbacks, wagons, coupes, sedans, convertibles and most models.



Honk, honk, honk.

## Honk.

As we honk on about our cars, we'd also like to do a little honking about the warranty packages that go along with them.

There's a 1-year/30,000 kilometre warranty that covers everything from the headlights to the tailights.

There's a 6-year/100,000 kilometre power train warranty.

And a 6-year/100,000 kilometre sub-performance warranty.

Now if you take all this, plus all the things you've read about to this point, you'll now know why Chevrolet has the world's most successful cars.

So in summary, we'd only like to say this: Honk, honk, honk, honk.

**Chevrolet**

The world's most successful cars.

# The pull of the American dream

By Peter C. Newman

**T**he combined impact of the free trade agreement, the Meech Lake accord and the tax reform package will create a new kind of country—and they should not be rushed without a specific mandate from Canadian voters. These daring Mulroney initiatives represent nothing less than a rewriting of the social contract between Canadians and their federal administration. Most of the familiar touchstones by which we have been governed are about to change in unpredictable ways.

The enduring bipartisan devotion to pragmatism in Canada's state religion has been shattered. If last week's dramatic free trade agreement-in-principle between Ottawa and Washington becomes law, we will find ourselves harrowed to sleep the much tougher ethic of the entrepreneurial competition—having to make our way through the Darwinian ravages of unfettered competition, where survival of the fittest and the fittest is all that counts.

"These three recent initiatives of ours," admits Tom Hocken, the minister of state for finance and a political scientist, "go well beyond pragmatism and represent a definite break from that tradition. The next election could be the most ideological campaign in Canadian history, and I mean ideological in the sense of opening up a genuine free-enterprise approach."

If Hocken is right, and I think he is, the next election will turn into a head-on confrontation between nationalists and continentalists. Many specific policy differences will be aired, with each side claiming that the other is betraying Canada's long-term interests that the central issue will be the unfettered export of Canadian energy, which was the Reagan administration's bottom-line reason for entering into the free trade negotiations in the first place. U.S. energy experts predict that declining domestic production will raise the current American dependence of 25 to 30 per cent on petroleum imports to 50 to 60 per cent during the 1990s. Free access to Canadian energy sources—oil, steel and oil barrel—would fuel the American industrial machine for the foreseeable future. (Even when we start to run out of our own oil, under the draft treaty, Canada must provide "proportional access to the diminished supply" without price discrimination.)

Our energy exports would not, of course, be limited to oil. Our access

to Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa is so anxious to support free trade that it would allow him immediately to sell off \$3 billion worth of Minnesota and James Bay power to New England over 10 years. Precisely such an arrangement was blocked by Ottawa's National Energy Board last June.

Apart from these and many other specific aspects of the proposed deal, one of its fundamental weaknesses is that we are entrusting our destiny with a



Mulroney: rewriting the social contract

trading partner on the decline. American merchandise trade balance, which last showed a surplus in 1975, defined as a deficit of \$384 billion in 1989 and fell to a deficit of \$306.6 billion last year—proportionately a lot worse than in Canada. Interest payments on Washington's gargantuan budgetary deficits last year totalled \$180 billion, and predictably in U.S. manufacturing since 1979 has only increased by a puny annual 4.4 per cent.

In the debate over free trade's bene-

fits and pitfalls, free traders will go to the wall to protect Canadian wheat, but the Auto Pact is a much more serious matter. The irritation to the U.S.-owned Big Three caused by the duty remission scheme that benefits Japanese and South Korean auto assemblers in Canada will be removed, as will the 60 per cent Canadian content rule. Although that will weaken many of the Auto Pact's Canadian benefits, General Motors is looking forward to the new set of rules. "We're very pleased," George Peppelen, the Canadian head of General Motors, told Maclean's. "The new free trade arrangement preserves most of what is available to us under the current ground rules."

As the fine print of the free trade agreement becomes available, both sides in the escalating debate will use its various clauses to strengthen their cases. In the financial field, for example, we have dropped all pretence that banking must remain a protected Canadian industry. While there were some minor restrictions granted by the Americans allowing our banks to penetrate the U.S. market (as long as they don't try to buy investment houses), there is no barrier to the acquisition of control of, say, the Bank of Montreal by U.S. investors.

These are watershed issues, and whichever way they're resolved this country will never be the same again. What will decide the outcome of the great debate, bound to climax in an election next year, will not be diversion on policy details but a split in differing views of our best long-term individual and collective interests.

In the past we could afford the luxury of not having to choose between surrender and resistance to the magnetic pull of the American dream strictly on the basis of the economic considerations. We were the resource storehouse to the free world, and everyone wanted what we had. But now it is clear no longer that but, without exception, all of the world's other major industrialized countries are joining (or have joined) a trading bloc that will enlarge access of its domestic manufacturers to markets of 180 million people or more. By the mid-1990s, for example, Western Europe is expected to be so thoroughly integrated that it will be using a common currency.

For Canadians to reject the free trade pact strictly on the grounds of its undoubted threat to Canadian sovereignty is too simplistic. The alternative—trying to procure a winking status quo—could be even worse.



## Would you have guessed this is Domtar?



From the time you wake up in the morning, until you go to bed at night, chances are that Domtar will have figured prominently in your day.

That's because so many consumer products are based on natural resources, and Domtar is one of the leading resource-based companies in North America.

So it's only natural that you'd find us under feet, overhead and all around you—especially in Domtar construction materials such as Gyproc® gypsum board, Arimatec® laminates and Chaboson® roofing shingles, lumber and more.

But you also find us in a wide variety of consumer goods, as well as in the packages they come in.

We see the pages of pocket books, newspapers, annual reports. The stuff that shows conditions, record books and lotto tickets are printed on.

And we are a major supplier of recycled tires, utility poles and highway dividers. You even sprinkle us on your eggs in the morning.

If you hadn't guessed we were so successful, it's a tribute to our 10,000 people who operate our 80 specialized facilities and keep Domtar's growing success so quietly undisturbed.

**DOMTAR**

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# Tapping a mine of female discontent

Women have sent the story—and it is true, according to the authors of several recently published books about romantic relationships. Indeed, many of the titles reflect that theme: *Men Who Hate Women* & *The Women Who Love Them*; *More to Love a Difficult Man*; *No Good Men*. The latest—asked by *Newsweek*, *The Hate Report: Women and Love: A Culture of Revolution in Progress*, by New Yorker Staffer Hite, is left in title and tone but its message is familiar. The result of a writers' questionnaire that invited American women across the country to answer at length questions about love, sex and marriage, it asks the key question: "Are you happy with the relationship?" The reply, from an overwhelming majority of respondents: "No." The controversial study, resulting at \$28.75 per copy, is expected to reach Canadian bookstores before the end of October.

Hite, 44, is an ex-model and the author of two previous studies on love and sex. Her publisher bills her latest book as the "first major report on women about the dissatisfaction of the women's movement into our culture." At 602 pages, comprised mostly of detailed first-person accounts, it is certainly the longest—a sustained and bitter cry from the heart. Among Hite's observations: 84 per cent of her respondents are "not satisfied emotionally" with their love relationships and 98 per cent want to make "basic changes" in those relationships. Of the respondents married for more than five years, fully 30 per cent reported that they engaged in extramarital affairs.

But some critics charge that the book reflects an anti-male bias on Hite's part. Helen Gurley Brown, the New York-based editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, said that, although she does not back Hite's research results, "the report is so male-baiting, so male-demeaning, and that's so easy to do I'm sure her statistics are valid. But what are we going to do, dump on all the men in the world?" And some social experts say that Hite's conclusions are skewed because the report is not a scientific poll and the number of people who re-

sponded to her questionnaire—4.5 per cent—was low. They also speculated that the malcontents would be more likely to reply than people happy with their relationships. Saul Fassin Blais, a marriage counsellor at the Clarke Institute,



Hite charges of an anti-male bias

spective of *Psychiatry* in Toronto "What about the other 95,000 women?" The book has probably retracted a population with particular characteristics who may have needed a forum to express their feelings." Still, in view of the anger that crackles on most of its pages, it is apparent that Hite's book has tapped a rich mine of discontent.

*Women and Love* is Hite's third major book in 13 years, resulting out a trilogy comprised of *The Hate Report*, *A*

*Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality* (1976) and *The Hate Report on Male Sexuality* (1981). For her latest study, Hite mailed out 100,000 questionnaires to counselling centres, church and political groups and women's rights organizations across the United States, beginning in 1980. She chose groups rather than individuals, she said, to help ensure anonymity. She received 4,500 responses—too few to reflect a trend, say some polling and survey experts.

But Hite, who spent seven years analyzing the responses, defends her approach by saying that standard random sampling methods would not have worked for case-type questions—and that she chose the latter format because multiple choice "would have implied preconceived categories of response." She said that she wanted to give women the opportunity to talk in their own voices. "The goal of this study," said Hite, "was to hear women's reflections on the nature of love, and to learn how they see love relationships now in relation to the whole spectrum of their lives."

These reflections include many complaints about sex. Most of the women in Hite's survey say that although they regard physical affection as an integral part of a close, loving relationship, the problem is that men do not—often most engage in sex either with cold detachment or to fulfil an urgent physical need. The 5,286 single women who responded answered particularly disheartened. Many said that although they would like an intimate, committed relationship, they are embarrassed to express their feelings because most men—even in the age of AIDS—are focused solely on getting them into bed. Said one, "I would be happier in a relationship but it is very difficult for me to meet someone I like and am attracted to and have respect for, who won't pressure me."

As a result, although some of the single women reported that they liked casual sex (18 per cent), many others said that they were virgins (11 per cent), and 33 per cent said that they had opted for temporary partners. Said one respondent, "I dreamed of having someone to make up to, then the daydreams dissolve into imagined quarrels, misunder-

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standards and hurt feelings."

More surprising, perhaps, is that most of the married women who responded are also discontented with their sex lives. Indeed, seven out of 10 women married for more than five years reported that they have extramarital affairs—more, they said, for emotional closeness than for sex, but also because sex with their husbands is boring. Stud one "Sex with my husband is usually monotonous with some foreplay. I would like him to handle me and talk to me, but he doesn't. I have to remind him to remove his glasses."

But sexual problems are merely symptoms of the major elastic that women told like they have the refusal of men to respond to their emotional needs—or even listen to the expression of these needs. While men expect their wives and lovers to nurture them sexually, they feel no compulsion to reciprocate—no, many women told this, do they know how. Eighty-three per cent of respondents said that they did not believe that most men understand the basic issues involved in making intimate relationships work—the need for open communication, for sex. Ninety-eight per cent of the women surveyed said that they would like more "verbal closeness." Declared one: "Our biggest problem is not being able to talk. He talks at me."

As a result, says Liba, many women are questioning whether they should devote so much time and energy to relationships. She writes "Most women are not in love relationships they consider to be anywhere near what they would like. Women after women says she is having enormous amount of energy into trying to make her relationship work—but that the man doesn't seem to be putting in the same effort. This makes women even more alienated, frustrated, and often angry."

Many of the current best-sellers have concluded that women still have to shoulder the responsibility for making relationships work, that a man will not change and that a woman can only hope that he will alter his behavior toward her. But, like questions like attitude and takes the issue a step further. She writes "As the long from My Fair Lady says, 'Why can't a woman be more like a man?' So we might ask, 'Why can't a man be more like a woman?'" For her part, Helen Gurley Brown says that the think men are improving. Rose Brown "They're much more aware of what women and these days." And in a comment that recently accompanied her views on the subject—and perhaps the whole issue—she added "So we have problems with men. I don't think it's terminal."

That official launching on Oct. 4 capped a five-year \$10-million project by a five-member team from the federal ministry of communications. But in fact, it was the sixth time that the delicate phase had flown without an untold fuel supply. In one previous test, the military's (the Maritime 11th Air



MacDonald with the microwave-powered plane: a pioneering flight without fuel

## TECHNOLOGY

# Soaring into history

It was aviation history in the making. In a muddy field west of Ottawa, last week electronics technologist Gerald Beaver wrestled with the controls of a radio transmitter for five minutes, maneuvering a pistonless plane to position. Three hundred feet above him, the bizarre wood craft with a 16-foot wingspan soared and dipped, responding to the transmitted commands. Then, as the plane's onboard batteries were used to go dead, Beaver switched them off—and watched as the electrically powered propeller plane continued its flight for another three minutes. Before about 100 fascinated observers from across Canada, the United States and from as far away as Japan, the plane was flying under power—but without using any fuel. Instead, its electric motor drew its power from microwaves beamed up from a ground antenna. Declared Robert Brasseur, a U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration flight expert "It's one of those things nobody believes until he sees it."

That official launching on Oct. 4 capped a five-year \$10-million project by a five-member team from the federal ministry of communications. But in fact, it was the sixth time that the delicate phase had flown without an untold fuel supply. In one previous test, the military's (the Maritime 11th Air

in microwave power. Still, it was only a first step for the Canadian researchers and others in the United States working on similar projects. Their ultimate goal: a full-sized, unmanned plane that can stay aloft for months at a time, performing such tasks as relaying radio and television transmissions or monitoring pollution. For a number of reasons—including the fact that it does not have to return to the ground for fuel—such a craft could operate at a fraction of the cost of the aircraft and satellites that now do these jobs.

For the flight, a disk-shaped ground antenna beamed 10,000 watts of microwave energy to energize receptors on the underside of the aircraft. Those receptors then converted that energy into 150 watts of direct current—enough to drive the craft's electric motor, which in turn powered the propeller.

There was a quick report for the success. Federal Communications Minister Flora MacDonald, who was at the official launch, announced that Ottawa would continue financing the microwave flight project. With that announcement, said the researchers, by 1995 a \$20-million microwave-powered aircraft—with a wingspan seven times the size of the prototype—could be soaring through the skies.

—MARK MOYER with LARRY BLACK in New York and JOHN L. UNDERWOOD in Toronto

—BILLY GILLY with JAMES HILGERT in Ottawa





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# THE CASE FOR THE DEFENCE

By Edward L. Greenspan  
And George Jonas

*Edward Greenspan, 41, of Toronto is Canada's best-known and most controversial criminal lawyer. One of his most celebrated clients was Charles, Ont.-born major-league pitcher and Cy Young Award-winner Ferguson Jenkins, accused of a narcotics offence in 1980. Jenkins, 45, is now retired from baseball and lives in Blenheim, Ont., not far from Chatham, where he manages an 87-acre beef cattle farm. In this exclusive excerpt from Greenspan's memoirs, Greenspan: The Case for the Defence, written with Toronto author George Jonas and published this week, Greenspan recounts the Jenkins affair from his unique insider position.*

**F**erguson Jenkins is one of my heroes. He was among the greatest pitchers in the history of major-league baseball—a rare Canadian star in this all-American game. In August, 1980, Jenkins had more than 340 victories under his belt. He was on his way to having a game-time shot at winning 300 games—which would effectively guarantee his admission to baseball's Hall of Fame among the likes of Babe Ruth and Ty Cobb. Representing someone like Jenkins brought me close to the realization of one of my oldest childhood fantasies.

On Aug. 24, 1980, the Texas Rangers took a charter flight from the Dallas-Fort Worth airport to Toronto. When the plane landed there a few minutes after 11 p.m., the members of the team picked up their luggage—but a few pieces had been mistook. After waiting around for awhile, those members of the club whose luggage was mistaken had to board the bus without their suitcases. Ferguson Jenkins was one of them.

Bags being mispacked at airports is a common nuisance. In Toronto, when such unwanted luggage is eventually found, the usual practice is to hand it over to Canada Customs. The customs people then open and examine all such luggage to a razor of narcotic Canada Customs opened Ferguson Jenkins' luggage the next day and discovered a very small amount—three grams—of cocaine, along with similarly small amounts of hashish and marijuana. (The street value of the total was eventually estimated at \$300.) Two more officers picked Jenkins up at Exhibition Stadium before 1 p.m., just as the game was about to begin. Jenkins' hotel room had already been searched. At the airport, where he was taken next, Ferguson told the officers that the luggage and the drugs found in it belonged to him.

Technically, since his flight originated in the United States, Jenkins could have been charged with importing narcotics, but there was no real danger that he would be. A



charge of importing—with its draconian maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment—it never had against any person for such a meagre quantity of drugs. The authorities may, however, as a kind of compromise, charge someone with possession for the purpose of trafficking even when the possibility is raised—such as three grams—made it evident that the person could only have been bringing the drug into Canada for his own use.

My first task was to make sure that he would not have to fight the fully unswerving charge of possessing \$300 worth of drugs for trafficking. Assuming we could get the Crown's agreement to that, it was equally vital that the prosecution should proceed against Jenkins by way of summary conviction rather than by indictment. That is always the Crown's

choice in the case of such hybrid offences as possession of drugs, and I had to make sure within the first 24 hours that the prosecutor would make the right choice. The defence was highly significant in the case of someone like Jenkins, a Canadian whose work in major-league baseball made it necessary for him to be able to enter the United States.

It was one of the quirks of American jurisprudence law that exactly the same offence, in this case possession of three grams of cocaine, would make Jenkins extraditable from the United States if the Crown proceeded against him by way of indictment in this country, but not extraditable if the Crown elected to proceed by way of summary conviction.

For the Crown to proceed by way of summary conviction would still not have been enough to remove Jenkins from possible repressions from the American intelligence authorities. The maximum penalty for a first offence of simple possession in Canada was six months' imprisonment, a \$1,000 fine, or both. In practice, virtually no one was sentenced to prison for a first offence, but a judge might wish to make an example of someone with a \$1,000 fine. To qualify as a misdemeanour for U.S. immigration, a fine could not exceed \$500.

What made it urgent to settle the question of the charge within 48 hours was that baseball in America is a serious and sensitive business. Keeping the sport clear, in one of the preoccupations of the office of the commissioner of baseball. That was reason to fear that the baseball authorities might bring immediate sanctions against any player accused of a felony—and several, never mind convicted. The baseball authorities had to see that what Jenkins was being charged with was only a misdemeanour at worst.

For Ferguson Jenkins, 36 years old at the time, the difference could mean being able or not being able to play two or

three more full seasons of major-league baseball. In financial terms, that difference could have amounted to well over \$1 million, taking into account 1980 income. More importantly, it could have meant the difference between having or not having a shot at 300 victories. The greatest Canadian player of all time had a lot at stake for having been found with three grams of cocaine in his luggage.

Like any other bargaining process, plea negotiations involve making for something and offering something in exchange. In our case, the bargaining is usually initiated by the police and the Crown. They are then being by lawyers in charge against an accused that is far more severe than the offence on which they wish to secure an eventual conviction (or far more severe that can really be supported by the facts and the evidence in a given case). That is the legal equivalent of an asking price.

What I could offer the Crown attorney, Ivan Room, was that the defence, after offering a plea of not guilty, would agree to a set of facts. They would include the fact that the three grams of cocaine were in the luggage of Ferguson Jenkins and that he had admitted to the fact that the drug belonged to him. Not contesting this, in spite of our not-quite plea, would certainly result in a finding of guilt on a charge of possession. That was accepted by the Crown. In exchange, Room agreed to charge Jenkins with simple possession only and also to proceed by way of summary conviction against him. He would not, however, agree on a penalty, but agreed for acknowledging that the offence did not call for a jail term. When it came to sentencing, the Crown would push for the maximum \$1,000 fine.

That still meant that Ferguson Jenkins' career would remain in jeopardy. For him, a fine of \$1,000 could mean a million-dollar fine. It would also put an immediate end to his entire life of blameless behavior and extraordinary efforts at risk for what was, at worst, one isolated lapse of judgment. Because of the politics, energy and social significance of major-league baseball in America, Jenkins was becoming to three grave consequences right after the charges were laid against him and long before his trial began. Within six days of his arrest in Toronto he was being called to an interview with Henry A. Phipps, Jr., director of security for Bowe Kohn, the all-powerful commissioner of baseball in the United States. I flew to New York.

I could not believe my ears when I heard Phipps outlining the main questions that Kohn expected Jenkins to answer before his trial. Several of the answers might have required Jenkins to incriminate himself, any one of them



Jenkins (left), Greenspan (above) an opportunity to defend a hero

could have been admissible against him is a crucial pre-emptive in Canada (as in the United States). He would have had to answer them under no privilege or solicitor-client. It was a flagrant disregard of due process in the country that invented the term "due process." I told Fitzgibbon that I was advising my client not to answer any of his questions except for the information that Fergie had never been previously arrested in his entire life.

Kuhn's letter to Jenkins read, in part, "Since you have declined to co-operate with this office's investigation, and thus perhaps to exonerate yourself, I think it is also fair that



Gordon and Jenkins arriving at Brampton, Ont., courthouse. There's still a before you're out

you should not be in custody again until this matter has been disposed of. I am hopeful that your defence in the Canadian proceeding will establish your innocence. Continue with that view. I am asking the Texas club to postpone your salary and benefits in your absence, which should make it clear that my action is in no sense intended to be punitive."

Talk about hardball. Kuhn spoke like the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*, sentence first, verdict later. I was especially outraged by the offensiveness of his suggestion that the act of suspending Jenkins with full pay was not intended to be punitive. What greater punishment is there than suspending a player in mid-season? What's worse than taking him out of the game and breaking his stride? That could apply to any player, but especially to a player in his middle 30s who may have only two or three seasons of professional baseball left. I was lighting the career of a great athlete with a stroke of the pen.

In such situations it's often best to take off your gloves. I realized, however, that no matter what happened to Jenkins on the drug charges in Canada, he would have to live with

Kuhn for some time to come. He had to pitch in his ball park. It never occurs a doubt to win a battle if it loses him the war, so I agreed with Major League Players Association counsel Donald Fely's very proper and conciliatory plan to plead with Steve Kuhn first, asking him to reconsider his decision that the case of baseball was not in a mood for conciliation or compromise. That left us with no choice. The next day, on Sept. 18, the Players Association filed a grievance on Fergie's behalf. It called for his immediate reinstatement, "there being no just cause for the penalty imposed." Baseball's permanent arbitrator, University of Kansas law professor Raymond Goets, agreed to the scheduling of a hearing for the evening of Sept. 18 in Chicago. Time was of the essence. The baseball season would end on Oct. 5.

On Sept. 18 I flew to Chicago to testify before the arbitrator panel. In addition to chairman Goets, the panel included one representative of the Players Association bringing the grievance and another from the Major League Baseball Player Relations Committee, Inc.—in essence, Kuhn's office. The three men listened to the arguments. The gist of Kuhn's position was that (1) he had a duty to protect the image of baseball; (2) he had the authority to make the decision that he made; and (3) there were several precedents supporting the view that if a defendant made the "hard choice" to answer his honest questions, even if it could be used against him at his trial later, it was not amount to denial of his constitutional right against self-incrimination.

It was the tough position of a tough guy. The position of a man with perhaps a little more power and a little less understanding of fairness and decency than he ought to have had. Goets did not buy it. On Sept. 22 he ordered Jenkins restored to active status with the Texas Rangers effective immediately. Fergie flew off to join the Rangers in Minnesota, ready to pitch against the Twins I came back to Toronto to prepare for his trial scheduled for Dec. 18 in provincial court at Brampton, Ont., before Judge G. L. Young.

Since the Crown and the defence agreed on the facts, the judge would probably have no choice but to register a finding of guilt on a charge of simple possession against Fergie. For that reason, the entire trial was likely to be about unconvincing Ivan Rocco had already indicated that he was going to ask for as large a fine as he could get under the law. I made up my mind that the proper penalty in this case was an absolute discharge. An absolute discharge would mean that as a sign of a finding of guilt, a defendant could walk out of court as if he had not been convicted at all. He would not acquire a criminal record of any kind. I did not think that Ferguson deserves, any more than any other first offender, should have a criminal record for an offense of this nature. There was an interesting dilemma, however.

Jenkins was an outstanding athlete, a genuine super-league star. He was a winner of the Cy Young Award (1971) given to the best pitcher in the league. He had been named

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Pitcher of the Year by *The Sporting News* four times (1967, 1971, 1972 and 1974) Jenkins was also, by all accounts, an exceptional human being. He was a recipient of this country's highest civilian decoration, the Order of Canada. I could have called an array of glittering international names to testify for him. The most prominent people here or in America would have been glad to offer character evidence on his behalf. But I couldn't help feeling that rather than helping Perge, this might somehow work against him.

Emphasizing Jenkins' great achievements, instead of bringing him too much credit that any first offender on such a minor drug charge could reasonably hope for in 1980, might have the adverse effect on a court. It might create a feeling in the judge that he was being provoked, that he was being asked to play favorites or to make an exception when, in fact, the defense was asking him to make an exception as an exception in all. I was only looking for a judge who would not put Jenkins in a worse position than it would any other first offender of previously impeccable character and blameless reputation. I did not want to risk to let off for being a great baseball star. I just didn't want him to be perceived for it.

At the trial Judge Young did make a feeling of guilt against Perge Jenkins. By that time I had decided not to call a single defense personality, a grade celebrity. The witnesses offering evidence for Perge would be four ordinary citizens. Four decent, public-spirited members of the small community in which he grew up and which was still the permanent home of his family (Chatham, Ont.). I did not expect these four witnesses to be particularly eloquent. I simply expected that they would tell Judge Young the facts. Tell him about the kind of man Perge Jenkins was known to be by those who knew him best, his neighbors in his own community. In the end that turned out to be the most eloquent testimony of all.

This was what Dr. Charles Kenney had to say: "I observed four cases this morning to see how they were done. I felt it was so important that this man be represented by the community. We looked after Perge's family. His mother, I tended her in her final illness. And Perge just around me how he would come and be there at the back and all even though he was making it many companies at the time during the baseball season. This fellow always available for any function, to raise money for any cause, and he always been most generous about it." I asked Dr. Kenney, "Would it be in the interest of the public that he be given . . . I suppose the best word is a break by this court?" He replied, "Yes. I think even if he had killed himself, they would have said 'you're out'."

Ronald Blazkow, president of the Kent-Lee Underwear Association, described a fund-raising function for a local charity called Four Boys Lunch at which Perge took off his own cowboy boots, auctioned them off for \$150, then walked home on his stocking feet. "I'm fortunate," Blazkow said. "I'm one of 42,000 people in Chatham that have been able to come here today. But I think you could probably go to almost any one of those 42,000 and they would probably give you the same testimony. He's a good individual."

Douglas Allen, a former mayor of Chatham, said, "I could not praise the gentleman enough for what he's done to help

us with senior citizens, with our youth." And when I asked Gene Bradura, a Chatham history teacher and amateur baseball player in the Chicago Cubs farm system who later became a scout and had first scouted Jenkins for the Philadelphia Phillies, if people would think that the court was overlooking Perge's offense by giving him an absolute discharge, he said: "No, I don't. I don't think our community would look down upon the law, would look down upon Perge as saying, 'This was easy for you.' I don't think so. I think they're generally feeling that Perge is part of the community. A mistake has been made. And they want him to continue."

In his decision, Judge Young declared: "It seems to me that a person who has conducted himself in such an exemplary manner that he is held in high account in his community, and ended in his country, there comes a time when he is entitled to draw on that account. This is one of those occasions. Especially, and particularly, when the potential ramifications of a conviction would be so severe. I therefore find that it would not be contrary to the public interest to grant [an absolute discharge]."

No judge has ever more narrowly escaped being kissed on the cheek in open court by a defense lawyer than Gerry Young did. But as one of the great pharmacists of baseball remarked: It isn't over till it's over. The American imagination's authorities were no longer a problem, but Perge Jenkins's future was once again in the hands of Bowie Kuhn. Quietly, without telling the Players Association of my intentions, I flew into New York. Without even checking into a hotel, I took a taxi to 75 Rockefeller Plaza and had a private meeting with Bowie Kuhn. The battle was won; to get the best result for my client, it was now time to make nice instead of picking another fight.

The result came in a press release from the commissioner's office on Feb. 3, 1981. There was to be no suspension. Perge was going to contribute \$10,000 to a drug-education program in Illinois aimed at young children. He was also to make public appearances, both in person and an educational film clip, supporting the aims of drug-education programs and expressing deep regret for the mistake that led to his involvement in the drug charges that were recently dropped of his case.

Now it was over. At our last meeting before his press release, Bowie Kuhn and I parted amicably. There was no question about Kuhn's sincere dedication to what he considered, so doubt often rightly, as best serving the cause of baseball. Nor was there any doubt in my mind—or in Perge's for that matter—that the use of psychotropic drugs in baseball and pretty much, in fact, in trying to deny a person's legal rights or wiping out the remains of a lifetime's outstanding athletic achievements for one single mistake.

One final note: In the spring of 1980 Perge Jenkins was quoted in *The Wall Street Journal* as saying, "I know I didn't do anything wrong, but my lawyers told me that if I wanted to stay in baseball I'd have to bend, so I bent." I would have hoped that having said this much, Perge might have gone further. As his lawyer, I can't. Only he is entitled to make all the circumstances public. Maybe he will, one day. ☐



Kuhn: no mood to compromise



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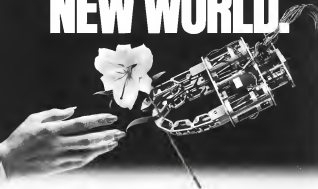
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## HEALTH

### 'Patient Zero' and the AIDS virus

Gordon Dugas shaved his head in the summer of 1981. The native of Quebec City was still handsome—but he chose baldness in order to hide the fact that chemotherapy was causing patches of his hair to fall out. Then, the 36-year-old Air

Canada steward apparently set out to visit the renowned bathhouses of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Vancouver, Toronto and New York. In the dimmed light, the other patrons could not see the purple spots—evidence of an AIDS-related skin cancer called Kaposi's sarcoma—on his face, chest and arms. But, claims the San Francisco author of a new book on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, after numerous sexual encounters Dugas would turn up the outside lights, point to the lesions and say "I've got gay cancer. I'm going to die and so are you." According to the writer, Nancy Shilito, Dugas not only infected dozens of men—he was probably the individual responsible for first bringing AIDS to North America.

Shilito's 320-page book, titled *And The Band Played On*, Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic, is being released this week in Canada. But advance copies have already sparked widespread controversy among AIDS experts. According to Shilito, on July 17, 1981, Dugas told an epidemiologist from the Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control (CDC) that he had had at least 2,500 sexual partners—or about 250 men annually—during the previous 10 years. Dugas had also travelled frequently to France where, researchers now know, the AIDS virus was spreading before 1980.

As a result, said Shilito, CDC researchers have linked Dugas, whom they called Patient Zero, to 40 of the first 246 U.S. homosexual men diagnosed with AIDS by April, 1982. Indeed, the author says that nine of the first 15 AIDS patients in Los Angeles either had sex with Dugas—or with someone who had had relations with him. But CDC spokes-

men declined to comment on Shilito's theory, saying they had not yet read the book. And Dr. Alan Clayton, for one, director-general of the Federal Centre for AIDS in Ottawa, says that Shilito's conclusions are purely speculative. Clayton says that the virus was prob-

ably transmitted from a monkey to a man in West Africa during the 1950s and spread undetected—because sufferers did not develop symptoms for up to 15 years—to the Caribbean, Europe and the North American mainland. Declared Clayton: "Between 1979 and 1982, 10 Canadians were diagnosed with AIDS, and any one of them might have been the one who brought it over—or someone else who was never diagnosed. So try to pinpoint it to one guy is unfair."



Shilito, blaming the AIDS epidemic on one man, a Canadian airline steward

Still, Shilito maintains that Dugas, with his "charming French accent and sensual magnetism" was the most likely candidate to have carried AIDS to North America. He says that Dugas deliberately ignored a doctor's warning in November, 1982, to stay away from men in bathhouses, which Dugas regularly frequented. "I've got it," he quotes Dugas as saying slyly, "they can get it too."

By contrast, Michael Welsh, a spokesman for AIDS Vancouver who knew Dugas during the summer of 1983 through the organization's support network, said that Dugas frequently offered support to other men. Added Welsh: "He tried to educate people about AIDS. He was always very scorable—he brought a lot of levity to the experience and helped to make it less negative." As we said, Welsh said that he had difficulty believing Shilito's descriptions of Dugas's sexual habits, adding that they "remain in the area of rumor."

In any event, the direct cause of Dugas's death—in Quebec City on March 30, 1984—was officially noted as kidney failure. He died nine months after his 31st birthday and almost four years after the first positive result had appeared on his test. Welsh Shilito: "At one time Gaston had been what every man would dream of, by the time he died, he had become what every man feared." Still, Shilito says that tracing Dugas's sexual activities enabled researchers to determine that AIDS was, in fact, an infectious disease. In a very indirect way, Dugas clearly helped scientists to learn more about a frightening epidemic.

—ANNE STACEY in Toronto with LISA NAY (L'Espresso in Montreal)

## Monkey business in orbit

A coscripted astronaut, launched into space as part of a study on weightlessness, leapt from his restraints and attempts to ward the central panel of his spacecraft, *Miroslav*, back at the launch site, alarmed researchers and technicians monitor his activities on ground-controlled TV cameras and wonder if the space monkey will wreck the experiment and force them to cut short the flight.

I was not a movie melodrama. These real-life scenes last week focused worldwide attention on a cosmonaut with a mission of his own: monkey business in a Soviet spaceship. The protagonist is the drama was Yermolaev—a Siberian monkey who managed to slip his left arm free of a restraint in an orbiting space capsule that was sent aloft to test the effects of weightlessness. Yermolaev, a name that means "troublemaker" in Russian, clearly was bewitched by his assignment. Ripping out electrodes and pulling buttons and switches, Yermolaev threatened to force an end to the planned 12-day

mission. Finally, cosmonauts realized that Yermolaev was isolated in a secure chamber and decided to carry on as planned.



Yermolaev: thriving Soviet space program

In the new era of planet, or, openness, the Soviets bared all about the extraterrestrial side. According to official Soviet press reports, Yermolaev freed

his arm on Oct. 4—five days after the launch of the capsule carrying him and a second less-active monkey, as well as 10 white mice, fish and other test subjects. At week's end, a spokesman for Soviet researchers said that while Yermolaev "was investigating whatever he could reach with great curiosity," he appeared to be doing no harm. As a result, declared Sputniker Baidin, there was no need to cut short the experiment.

At the same time, the incident has provoked much among Moscowites—triggered partly by reports from test that space authorities on the ground were trying to anticipate Yermolaev's actions by placing another monkey at the instrument panel of a simulated space craft. They did so, according to the Soviet news agency, after television pictures relayed from the spacecraft showed that Yermolaev had ripped a metal label from a cap affixed to his head. That cap contained 12 sensors to detect changes in electrical impulses as the monkey adjusted to weightlessness.

The flight was the eighth test in a series of experiments paving the way for future manned voyages to the planets. That objective—and the monkey's widely reported antics—underscored the fact that the Soviet space program continues to thrive 30 years after the Soviets launched the world's first artificial satellite, called Sputnik 1. Other recent accomplishments strengthen the Soviet claim to a well-earned lead over the United States in the space race. They include the launch of the space station Mir (peace) in February, 1996. Then, one month later, a Soviet satellite transmitted valuable data about Halley's comet as the craft flew within 3,500 miles of the comet's heart. And last May the U.S.S.R. successfully tested a 220-foot-long rocket known as the Energia or SS-27, which can lift payloads of more than 100 tons into orbit.

But last week the world's attention was focused less on space exploration than on the flight of a furry cosmonaut. As Soviet scientists reported that Yermolaev was probably not getting enough to eat because of a blockage in a food tube. As a result, they screened the flow of fruit juice in the tube, they said, that the liquid diet would enable the space voyager to survive the weekend—and the stresses of re-entry on a scheduled landing Oct. 12 in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan.

—NANCY KIRBY with correspondents reports

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# The first decade of the TV MPs

By George Bain

Among the misconceived enterprises I have been involved with, a notable one was the writing in 1972 of Canada's Parliament, a layman's guide to parliamentary procedure. If Information Canada (RIP), which commissioned the book, thought I was a master of the subject, it did not get the idea from me. At best, I had a working knowledge of the rules—and, in fact, my fee aside, the one benefit that occurred anywhere was a marginal improvement in my own knowledge of procedure from reading and talking to people who were experts.

What routes (or perhaps less-than-gripping reminiscences) an ancient Anniversary On One, 11, no doubt with *hundreds* on Parliament Hill—10 years of *Maclean's*, with *Votes and Proceedings* as kindling—television's first decade in the House of Commons will be observed. My small treatise was unfortunate in anticipation of television's coming, which, in fact, didn't happen for five years, during which time the manuscript, or the finished booklet, for all I know, lay mouldering in a closet. It has to be remembered that the House of Commons was not at all sure that admitting the cameras was a good thing. At least, it might show that enemy troops will never care.

In any case, the plan was to celebrate Canada's Parliament widely around the country. I think a seating chart for the House was to be included so that avid viewers would have the names and numbers of all the players—and a stylish, perceptive, serene, admirably clear, witty account of how the game is played to enhance, as the saying goes, their viewing pleasure.

Well, not that I would want to bet on it, somewhere perhaps a fanatic sits, huddled before a TV set turned permanently to the parliamentary cable channel, furiously flipping through a dog-eared copy of Bain as parliamentarians try to make what he sees to what he reads. Possibly what was written in 1972 made an idealized picture, but it is also true that changes have occurred, and that the introduction of the cameras contributed in no small way.

The changes go deeper than my having gone up laughing their duck life to signify approval, which they did not long after the cameras first came

out of fear that they would look like unruly school kids. Public hand-slapping took its place. They also started slouching together to disguise a sparse attendance, like a nearly bald man raising the last strands across his dome in hopes of creating the illusion of a head of hair.

But what television must notably has helped happen is to make Question Period, always a focus of the parliamentary day, become in the public eye almost the whole of it. This has happened because it is all that is covered by television news reporters, with their print counterparts, more and more, week-end-end, following Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski was talking about media bias when he complained in a recent speech about constraints on the constitutional and damaging to the neglect of the substance of the government's performance.

**Because Question Period has become Show Time, the people with the best lines have the best chance of getting on**

stage. Undoubtedly a case can be made that the government has suffered here—I think it has—but if government accomplishments (the government's, or any other's) have been buried, part of the blame belongs simply to preoccupation with Question Period, which is (a) essentially trivial, and (b) essentially an opposition forum—a preoccupation TV coverage has made near-total.

Art Buchwald once said a columnist is in danger when he starts stealing from others, but is really in trouble when he starts stealing from himself. A big for Buchwald and his philosophizing. In 1972 I wrote about Question Period that among questions that were inadmissible were questions that were flagrantly argumentative. If that were still the case, Sheila Copps, the shrill Liberal lady from Hamilton East, would remain another new and unknown as instead, success in getting herself on television with questions that are argumentative and that give information in the guise of asking it, another criterion of the inadmissible in parliamentary questions, have led to

her being mentioned—probably, but mentioned—as a possible future Liberal leader in such supposedly rational quarters as the *CTV's Journal* and *Saturday Night magazine*.

Parliamentary manners, which apparently bar calling opponents liars, as well as attributing bad motives, have become worse. Television hasn't done that alone, but it has helped. Because Question Period has become Show Time, the people with the best lines—whichever, for impact, often are the most abusive or outrageous—have the best chance of getting on. And as getting on is nearly the only way the ordinary MP has of being noticed, because so little of what else he or she does or says is ever covered, the competition to find arresting things to say is tough. It is not a situation that favors the quietly responsible MP, and it accounts for the rise of such political/zoological phenomena as the Liberal Rat Pack.

A recent issue of the indexes of a month's worth (24 issues) of *Maclean's*, August-to-late-September, showed three shorter members of the Rat Pack—Copps, John Nantais and Don Boudria—between them with 27 citations for questions and supplementaries, 17 for "Statements pursuant to Standing Order 21," a sort of parliamentary equivalent of a free toss in baseball, and just four—two for Boudria, one each for Copps and Nantais—under what might be called substantive debate. In a 280-member House, that made a high collective batting average in the first row, publicity-seeking categories, compared with where the work is done.

Nor was the burden of their committee assignments heavy. Copps was on one standing committee, Health and Welfare, and one committee studying a particular bill—Bill C-204, the "misconduct" bill's set, scarcely one of the bigger. The other two had a standing committee each; some opposition MPs have three. Yet the Rat Pack members, all new, have become household names in the three years of this Parliament, mainly via Question Period, and that mainly via television.

What particularly made Canada's Parliament a misconceived enterprise is that Information Canada's underlying notion, in communicating it, was that the cameras were about to be turned on the whole of Parliament. Two years later, barring Question Period, broadcast television continues to avoid the substance like the plague.

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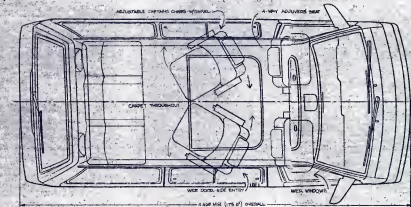
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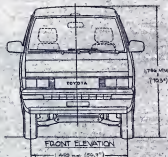
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## FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

### THE KID BROTHER

Directed by Claude Gagnon

The first night of *Kenny* Saturday in *The Kid Brother* is clarifying his body ends where his legs should begin. But *Kenny*, a strong-willed 12-year-old, is determined not to let his handicap get him apart. He refuses to wear leg prostheses, which he calls "lead sticks," to make himself less noticeable in public. Pushing his torso around on a skateboard, he displays astounding physical agility and a seemingly invincible inner strength. "I want to be my normal old self," he says. "They'll get used to me when they get to know me." *Kenny* being himself is what makes *Kid Brother* so endearing. And getting to know him is a pleasure that grows as his story unfolds.

Quebec director Claude Gagnon avoids turning a thinly fictionalized story about a handicapped into sentimental sugar. Instead of focusing on *Kenny*'s disability, he focuses the reactions of others, including the boy's working-class parents and his older brother and sister. *Kenny* and his real-life brother, Jesse Jr., play themselves, often outshining the professional actors in the cast. Despite that sweetness, *Kid Brother*, which won the Montreal World Film Festival's Grand prix des Amériques, is pleasantly raw and unconsensually uplifting.

—CELINA SOLE

### THE LAST STRAW

Directed by Giles Walker

A signal in the National Film Board's gentle 1985 comedy, *80 Days*, *The Last Straw* is a full-blooded farce that draws humor from a fertile premise. The world has suffered an unexpected increase in the number of people unable to have children, but—artificial insemination has suddenly become a growth industry. Enter bull-necked, bull-headed Alex (Sean Greer), whose highly aggressive sperm makes him the most potent man in Canada—perhaps the world.

Soon, Alex is the prize bull in a stable of sperm donors at an artificial insemination clinic, his natural resources turn into a national treasure. The booming sperm-bank business even becomes an issue in the free trade talks. Alex acquires a manager, Albie McAdam (Wal-

ter Martin), who plans to parade him on a pink elephant through shopping malls. His name at the clinic (Gweneth Maryn) takes an unusually proprietary interest in his frozen ejaculate. And once Alex's best friend, Elsie (Stefan Wodzenski)—learning that his own sperm count is hopelessly low—is dragged to



Encouraging: determined not to let his handicap get him apart

the clinic by his impulsive and over-zealous bride (Christine Pank).

Mixing comic wit with strains of science fiction and documentary, *The Last Straw* has several hilarious moments. Especially inspired is a cameo in which military expert Guyton Dyer, another host of the 1985 acclaimed *War* series, analyzes the superpowered battle over world sperm supplies. Unfortunately, the script's intelligent satire is derailed as the plot elements converge in a forced ending. The climax is too stiff—even for farce—and the final twist, like *Kenny*, leaves ends in far too cute. But by then *The Last Straw* has more than proven its comic strength.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Walker comic wit



—PATRICIA BLAGOYIC  
Toronto

The man who created a movie about a stud and his within-the-late sperm struggles to be a liberated male. "It's a hell of a lot of work," National Film Board director Giles Walker told *Madness*. A father of two and husband of Montreal film editor Hannele Halm, Walker says that *The Last Straw* jumps men who wish that women had never demanded equality. The movie is his third venture into the contemporary crossfield of sexual roles, following *The Masculine Mystique* (1984) and *10 Days* (1985). All were cowritten with David Wilson. Walker describes the new movie as their most audacious comic effort so far. "What's tricky about humor is that you're running so close as you can to the line of going too far. In *The Last Straw*, we deliberately teeter on the edge."

The film was also inspired by Walker's visit during the shooting of *80 Days* to an artificial insemination plant for cattle. "There was a glossy catalogue for bulls, and they could tell you exactly what effort Starbuck would have on your cow," he recalled. Concerned that humans would adopt the technology, he said. Wilson conceived a world in which danger babies are a reality.

Walker was born in Scotland 41 years ago. A 19-year veteran of the film, he has won nine awards for his films. *The Last Straw* is his third project in the 1985 alternative drama program, which he developed with Wilson and film board colleague John N. Smith (*Prize of Fear*). Using small crews, scripted dialogue and nonprofessionals in many major roles, they created a style both fresh and economical. *The Last Straw* cost only \$300,000. Now Walker plans to shift his focus from the nuclear to the royal family, shooting a feature about Canadiana's flirtation with the monarchy. It may dispense cynicism—Walker has a history of crowning his films with reverence.



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## BOOKS

# First among primates

VIRINGA, THE PASSION  
OF DIAN FOSSEY

By Shirley Mower  
(Hachette and Stewart,  
200 pages, \$24.95)

**T**he pioneering anthropologist Louis Leakey often said that women made the best field students of animals because they were more patient and unassuming in the male chaps were men. And he fostered the work of three women who became leaders in the study of the great apes: England's Jane Goodall, a chimpanzee expert; Canadian Birutė Galdikas, whose Leakey designated to study orangutans in the Far East; and Californian Dian Fossey, who lived for almost two decades among the gorillas of central Africa. Of these, Fossey was the most controversial—the one who aroused the fire between scientific observation and passionate devotion to her apes. In December, 1983, Fossey was hacked to death with an axe—possibly by the African poachers against whom she had struggled for so long. In writer Shirley Mower's (*Sins of Slough*), her tale finds an ideal chronicler—in part because he lets Fossey tell much of the story herself, using excerpts from her journals. The result, *Virunga* (the name of local volcanoes), is a powerful and sympathetic account of a remarkable life.

An only child and a passionate animal lover, Fossey originally trained as an ornithologist (birdwatcher). In 1963, when she was 23, she took a leave from

her work with disabled children to pursue a love affair in Africa. But the romance was suddenly eclipsed by a chance encounter with Leakey in Tanzania (now Tanzania)—and a jungle confrontation with six gorillas. "There they were, the last of the Mountain Kings," wrote Fossey, "half-seen looming black bodies surrounded by shaggy shadows. The slender arms gave the set warm brown eyes." Her assistant African porter, she wrote, murmured up her own feelings when he whispered, "Surely, God, these are my kin."

Leakey convinced her to devote her life to studying the apes, and by 1968 she established a permanent observation camp in Rwanda's Parc National des Volcans. Her time there won her a book contract (*Gorilla in the Mist*, 1969) a PhD from Cambridge University—and friendships with individual gorillas. But it also brought the abusive Fossey many enemies: she tried to defend her beloved apes by frightening off Rwanda's hunters with hallucinogenic drugs and gunfire. Meanwhile, her territorial battles with fellow academics and government authorities began to resemble the chest-thumping rages of her primate subjects. By the final pages of *Virunga*, her murder seems inevitable—the tragic fall of a visionary turned fanatic. Still, Fossey's quest to connect with another species is strongly uplifting. Like the search for other intelligent life in the universe, it was a high crusade.

—VIL ROSS

# Lament for a nation

DEATH-WATCH

By Jacques Brault  
Translated by David Lobdell  
(Anansi, 85 pages, \$9.95)

**P**oetry, like sculpture, often loses its lordships to middle age. In the case of Jacques Brault, 54, majority of talent has led Quebec's most trained poet and literary theorist to turn to another art form: Brault's first novel, *Agone*, won him a Governor General's Award in 1984. Originally written in French, the work—retitled *Death-Watch*—is now available in an English translation by David Lobdell. It is a spare, densely written treatment of themes that the prolific Brault has also explored in poetry: despair, loss and man's valiant but doomed attempts to transcend his circumstances through love or asceticism.

Some Quebec critics interpret the novel as a lament for the province's failure to achieve political independence. Certainly, the book suggests that there is nothing more than a life of compromise. Set in outposts of Montreal, the narrative begins with the chance meeting in an auditorium of an unnamed philosophy-professor-turned-artist and one of his former students. The slender novel joins the other a notebook from which the student reconstructs his mentor's slide into solitude and poverty. Brault feels echoes the younger man's own dark night of the soul as he recognizes a kindred spirit: late and choice have set both men on a solitary, intellectual quest. Without the redemption of love and the wholesome distraction of children, they have come to believe that a quick, reckless death is superior to continuing a life of regret.

Like much fiction built on metaphysical themes, *Death-Watch* is better at making poetic argument than at creating. Sparse and bleak characters. And Brault the stylist is best appreciated in the original French. Too often Lobdell's translation is clumsy and cluttered with excessive prepositions and connectives—a sure sign of French dropped into English. Brault's style is English. Still, the translation captures narrative momentum and a taste of Brault's unique style: telling images, sharp aphorisms and his superb, economic sense of form. *Death-Watch* resonates with the wisdom of meditation.

—MARILYN ACKERMAN

# The fixed point of love

MEMORY BOARD

By Jane Rule  
(*Memories of Canada*,  
222 pages, \$12.95)

Memory boards are devices on which people write down those things that they do not want forgotten. In that sense, all literature is a memory board on which writers record readers of a common

experience of the world. Ideally, readers respond with a shock of recognition, a sense of finding something they did not even know they had lost. In essence, Jane Rule's novel *Memory Board* is a very simple story of a relationship between two people that strengthens all those who come in contact with it. The subject belongs to the medieval tradition of courtly love, which established that among the

marks of true love are its undying nature and its healing qualities. Later societies labelled that tradition a literary cliché, which indeed it became. But Rule reminds readers that a cliché can also be true.

Instead of a knight and her lady, the lovers in *Memory Board* are two elderly women who live together in rare isolation—Dr Diana Crown, a Vancouver obstetrician, and the still-beautiful Constantine, who lost her memory after a wartime accident. Diana guides Constantine through the objects and activities that make up her day. Constantine gives Diana her companionship. Into their fiercely defended universe comes David, Diana's twin brother. Close as children, the two have been separated for 40 years by social circumstances—used by David's disapproving wife David's family—two married daughters and their children—ignore Diana's existence. But after his wife's death David recognizes the futility of his aspirations and he seeks out his sister.

Their acquaintance is itself another exercise in memory, for the one Diana practices with Constantine. Even the discovery of old age David and Diana recapture the past, trying to understand how it shaped the people they became. Significantly, ascribing yarrow pasties is one of the few games that Constantine's memory allows her to play because, above all, they require care and patience. Carefully and patiently, David and Diana rebuild their relationship.

The appearance of Aunt Diana and her lover triggers a sense of revelation in each member of David's family. One of David's daughters refuses to approve of her; the other accepts her quite naturally. One grandson embarks a friendship with Constantine, another seeks out Diana as his confidante. It becomes clear that the relationship between the older women is, in fact, the steadfast point around which the others find their own bearings.

Rule has told her story as simply as possible, unadorned by reflections, asides or judgments. At one point Diana lectures David on the politics of sex, but that is a rare instance in which her characters adopt a voice that sounds too explanatory. Overall, *Memory Board* takes the reader far beyond mere recollection. In constructing the story of a relationship's reconstruction, Rule has drawn a picture of the present. And it is an optimistic picture. With *Memory Board*, Rule is saying that a lasting and loving relationship may, in fact, be all those things readers simply were simply the wishful thinking of literature.

—ALBERTO MANGUEL



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## A clash of crimsons

THE COLOR OF BLOOD  
By Brian Moore  
1987 Collins and Bantam  
282 pages \$20.95

Westerns imagining life in Eastern Europe often envisage a restless propensity where displaced populations adjust under the tyranny of Communist rule. Brian Moore has adopted that view in *The Color of Blood*, a novel that strongly confirms its readers' preconceptions. It is set in a slightly backward and generally depressing country that at first resembles Poland. It even features Polish-sounding place names such as "Gienek" and a rebel union leader clearly modelled on Lech Walesa. But key details—including places arriving from Poland—establish that the novel is set elsewhere. That uncertainty gives Moore's upscale mystery thriller a sense of displacement and spiritual disquiet—a mood that is eminently appropriate, because Moore's exiled hero, Stephen Ben, is a Roman Catholic cardinal.

As the religious leader of his country, Ben is in a tough straitjacket. The fervently Catholic population uses the church as much as an instrument of subgovernment activity as of worship. Ben tries to support the dissent without letting it boil over into the certain bloodbath of open revolt. That creates mistrust among the ruling Communists—and in the church's own right wing, which would welcome an insurrection. After unidentified agents kidnap Ben, he must steer a dangerous course between those two powers.

Moore handles Ben's abduction and subsequent escape with skill, spinning a tale in which the cardinal sheds his fine robes and lives as a desperate fugitive, racing to save his country from civil war. Yet the plot is true as surely as courtship, as Moore moves his hero like a chess piece through a predetermined game. And Ben himself is a disappointment: his moderation and piety make him a rather dull protagonist. *The Color of Blood*—which has been shortlisted for England's Booker Prize—holds many pleasures, including the suggestive power of Moore's clear, understated prose. But in the end the novel seems little more than the sum of its fairly made parts.

—JERRY SODERBERG

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## COMMUNICATIONS

# Making waves abroad

Every week 16 million listeners worldwide tune in to Radio Canada International, the shortwave service that acts as the international voice of the CBC. The Montreal-based operation, which transmits its signal from Sackville, N.B., broadcasts news and cultural and current-affairs programs to countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as North America. Indeed, the ambitious service is currently enjoying the largest audience in its 42-year history.

But few Canadians listen to RCI, and as a result some firms have affectionately named it an "invisible service." Director Elizabeth Zimmerman says that although Canadians travelling abroad often tune in, Canadians at home "do not have the shortwave listening habit." And some observers say that RCI's low profile in Canada may threaten its survival. Recent CBC cutbacks have led to rumors that the corporation may be forced to eliminate its foreign broadcasting service, which operates on an annual budget of just over \$63 million. Conceded Zimmerman: "We feel very fragile and vulnerable."

As well, competition from its U.S. and British counterparts, the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp., each with a weekly listening audience of more than 100 million, has led critics to suggest that RCI should limit its scope. "There is a danger in proliferating languages and target areas to the point that it waters down the resources," said Washington-based radio researcher Kim Eddins. "It would be a lot better if it concentrated its resources on Eastern Europe and North America. That is where its strengths are." Still, the department of external affairs, which provides advice on target areas and languages but contributes no funding, recently stressed the need for RCI to expand its signal to the Pacific Rim.

According to Zimmerman, RCI's strength lies in the credibility of its short, high-quality broadcasts. Although RCI relays some CBC-produced shows, including *As It Happens*, *Sunday Morning* and *World at Six*, for the most part it produces its own programs—heavy on Canadian content—in both English and French in its Montreal newscasts. Staff interpreters then translate the programs,

rarely more than half an hour long, into 10 other languages.

ICI has estimated that the cost of extending its coverage to the Pacific Rim would be \$30 million over a 10-year period. Annual operating costs would amount to an additional \$2.6 to \$3.3 million. However, personnel

are trying to defray the costs by averaging a deal with Radio Japan that would involve the use of each other's transmission facilities. The Japanese government has yet to pass a law that would permit the agreement, but it is scheduled to go into effect in April. Meanwhile, said Zimmerman, "it would be comforting to think that more Canadians knew about the work we do, how well it's being done and how respected it is internationally."

—JAMES CREELMORE in Toronto

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## Spaced-out students

There is some commotion in blue jeans and tweedies starting at a TV screen. But the high school students have a special interest in the program transmitted by a U.S. station and picked up by their school's satellite dish. They are watching their own minds at the end of a science show in which they participated as part of a unique science program called *True (Falsified) Offerings for Progress* in the Sciences. Under the guidance of experts in the field, 25 bright ninth and senior students are taking part in one high-tech station to gain a better understanding of space science. Said Richard Duda, director of education for East York, the area of Metropolitan Toronto that runs the school: "Computers have taken us into the future. Our relationship with the aerospace industry is the next step."

Located at Mark Gersonia Collegiate Institute—formerly Overlea Secondary School but renamed in honor of the first Canadian in space—1979 is receiving strong support from the space industry. Officials at Toronto-based Space Aero-

space—developers of the 18-m remote manipulator arm known as Canadarm, which is used on U.S. space shuttles—have already donated a \$1,000 satellite dish. And with the co-operation of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the school has established a television center that contains exclusive video material and computer software. Still, the provincial government has so far refused to help fund the program. Said Duda: "The government sees that this is where the school system is heading. It is unfortunate that they won't put their money where the priorities are."

In its initial stages, the program will only be open to some of the school's Grade 10 students, but Duda says that the program will include Grades 9 through 12 by 1990. Those who enter the

program—by passing a written examination—spend their mornings in the first half of the school year doing a full year's work in maths and sciences. In the second term they concentrate on advanced computer science and space technology studies. And although the work load is heavy, according to science teacher Clyde Chamberlain, "the excitement and expertise of these kids keeps things interesting in the classroom."

The program has already attracted students from other areas of the province. Graham Durrant, a 14-year-old participant in 1979, moved from Clomphamville, Ont., to live with his aunt in East York in order to attend the school. Said Durrant, who plans a space industry career: "The sciences are tough. But in the long run it's worth it." For his part, Duda says he hopes that the enthusiasm felt by all those involved with the program will convince

the provincial government to help expand it and other alternative educational programs.

—BETH ATKINLEY in Toronto



Chamberlain MDA Mike

Photo: Mike

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## THEATRE

### Legends on the stage

Each summer, members of the Native Theatre School—the only one of its kind in Canada—develop a new production at their farm in Blue Lake, Ont., and then take it on the road. Audiences on Indian reserves enjoy the plays, whether they deal with urban teenagers or native stereotypes of Indians, says school director Gubby Goggin. "They laugh aloud—they understand the absurdities."

But when her fringe performs for white audiences, she is often greeted with confusion. Added Goggin: "People are terribly self-conscious—afraid to laugh." Her Canadian plays successfully cross the boundary between native and white experience. Those that have, such as *The Story of Rita Joe*, have been written or co-written by whites. Until Manitoba-born Once playwright Tomson Highway's *The Rez Sisters*, which opened last week at the Great Canadian Theatre Company in Ottawa, the imaginative landscape claimed by Canada's debilitated band of native theatre professionals has been unimagined territory for the rest of the country.

*The Rez Sisters* premiered at the Native Canadian Centre in Toronto a year ago, was runner-up for a Play's Guild Award for outstanding Canadian Play in 1996 and won a Dora Mavor Moore Award for Best New Play 1996/97. The play follows seven women who leave their reserve—or "rez"—in native slang—to Manabush Island, Ont., to visit the world's largest bingo game in Toronto. Their bawdy, sometimes wryly humorous, reflects the staccato rhythms of the playwright's native Cree tongue. Highway attributes his drama's suc-

cess to its director, Larry Lewis, and to its actors. But the play, which will soon tour throughout Western Canada, also marks a turning point in native arts generally. Said Highway: "We're ex-



Rez Sisters cast. Rene Highway as Manabush (below) spirit

ing a second wave. Exactly 20 years ago, Norval Morrisseau's first solo exhibition of paintings started a revolution by sharing the sacred stories beyond our conventionalities. Now we are extending that, taking the oral traditions into theatre and three dimensions."



Highway is artistic director of Native Earth Performing Arts, Inc., one of the country's 25 fully- and part-time native performing groups. Some are based in cities, such as Vancouver's six-year-old Spirit Song Native Indian Theatre Company, which runs ambitious touring programs in theatre arts and music at least one new production a year. Others are reserve-based companies, such as the De-Jeh-Mo-Jig Theatre

on Manitoulin Island. The group's name—"storytellers"—in Ojibwa—reflects its focus on translating legends for the enjoyment of both reserve audiences and non-reserve tourists.

Blaine DeChamps, president of De-Jeh-Mo-Jig, distinguishes between the contemporary dramas produced by urban companies and what his group does, which he calls "the romantic tradition—an extension of telling stories around the campfire." Because

these traditions were suppressed for centuries by white missionaries, some native activists say that the act of re-creating legends is just as revolutionary as creating new works. Once, native theatre took highly sophisticated forms when Capt. James Cook arrived on Canada's west coast in 1776, he found Moha Indians using masks, props, trapezoids, lighting and smoke effects in their religious dramas. But between 1854 and 1961, performing among the missionaries was punishable under the Criminal Code.

Changes to the code marked the beginning of a renaissance. So did reports of growth in indigenous peoples' theatre in the Caribbean, Scandinavia and the South Pacific. In 1986 and again in 1992 delegates from these cultures converged in Ontario for the Indigenous Peoples' Theatre Celebrations, creating an international support network that still persists. Native Theatre started in the 1970s in Canada, and the school year last year included two Cree Indians and a Lingo, or Lingo, from Sweden.

Despite the success of *The Rez Sisters*, it is at the momentary level that native theatre will continue to flourish. That is because its primary goal is not to entertain a mass audience but to make connections with indigenous cultures torn apart by social change. Even *The Rez Sisters* performs a healing role. The play's only male character is Manabush—in Ojibwa legend, the trickster who is also something of a Christ figure, an intercessor between humanity and the world of the spirit. Said Highway: "When the white man came to this continent, Manabush passed out under the table of The Silver Dollar [a bar in Toronto]. Our responsibility as native artists is to sober him up."

—DREW TAYLOR in Toronto



Colman, Hensel, Hensel T. Lasham: urban developers and real-estate sharks

## THEATRE: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

### BEAUTIFUL CITY

By George F. Walker  
Directed by Rob White

Just before his latest play, *Beautiful City*, writer George F. Walker is diagnosed by the way progress is changing Toronto, his home town. Walker portrays a nearly useless place where rampant neoconservatism makes a decent life impossible for lower-income people. In the opening scene of his black farce, currently being staged by Toronto's Factory Theatre, developer Jerry Raff (Dean Harve) is showing architect Paul Gallagher (Brendan Beckett) his plans for selling condominium units at \$1.5 million apiece. Gallagher is writing on the floor, the victim of an apparent epileptic attack. But the audience first refuses to call an ambulance until Gallagher has commented on his project.

The wildly funny exaggeration of that scene is typical of a play that includes similar endorsements of selfishness by alleged politicians. Raff's American mother, Mary—played with icy precision by Patricia Colman—is again personified a witty, risk-taking shock who heads a powerful crime empire. She meets her match in Gina (Lisa Salsbery) (Deborah Kopp), a self-styled sex worker who works as a clerk in a discount store.

After the hospital, he's diagnosed Paul's illness, it's Gina who correctly tells him that his illness is psychosomatic: "That's not life gone" on her and you're not part of it." And as the battle lines are drawn between what Walker sees as jagged artificiality and the more honest life of the poor, represented by Gina, that produces some prickly, amusing speeches as the

play's second half. But on the whole, *Beautiful City* encounters its targets with delicious effectiveness.

—JOHN BURGESS

### MY DARLING JUDITH

By Kevin Foster  
Directed by Janet Amos

With his fear for on-screen talent and panting contemporary issues, Kevin Foster has been called Canada's Neil Simon. Certainly, his new play, *My Darling Judith*, attempts a similarly very much at marriage and celebrity. The comedy, which opened the 20th season of Fredericton's Theatre New Brunswick last week, turns on the attempts of David (John Blackwood), a manufacturer of men's underwear and accessories, to win a quick, no-fault divorce in order to marry his mistress, Anna (Gina Harve)—who from that world would thwart her political ambitions. The pair decide to convert Carl (Ben Gilman), one of David's mistresses, into seducing David's wife, Judith (Caroline Shapiro) Manawild. Foster (The Melville Road) struggles awkwardly to introduce serious elements into Judith's independence and loneliness, selfishness and guilt.

The production, directed by Janet Amos, is well-paced and lively. Foster creates a daffy and engaging Judith, while Gilman's Carl, a man with a heart beneath his cooling eloquence, is hilarious. Mr. Darling-Judith offers a generous buffet of good cheer and laughter—but knowingly nothing to think about.

—KAREN'S EAGLEY

ROYALTY IS ROYALTY  
By W.D. Mitchell  
Directed by Rick McKeir

In the 1950s, and Queen Elizabeth II is about to make a whole step in Ottawa, Stock, population 400). In *Royalty is Royalty*, which opened last week at Winnipeg's Manitoba Theatre Centre, W.D. Mitchell (who has seen the World famous on the stage) expects a small town about to host a monarch's visit. Two families, the Abernethies and the Macgregors, both expect their small daughters to present the Queen with a bouquet—but there's a room for only one girl in the reception line. That tension is given a few extra turns by Jake (William Dunlop) and the Earl (Alan McLean)—both resurrected from Mitchell's popular radio scripts of the 1950s—who connect directly on the scene.

Mitchell's version of the human comedy is always endearing, but little is the show pushes the hearts or much of the audience into unknown country. The town's representative ladies, those who have played with great dignity and intelligence by Sue Jackson—comes closest when he reminds the local parents, who want him to parade before the Queen in traditional garb. But Mitchell's show, touching through only a glimpse of the play's disaster from the plight of so many Canadian authors. *Royalty is Royalty* is sweet-tempered, nostalgic—and thoroughly engaging.

—J.B.

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### FICTION

- 1 *Murphy, King (1)*
- 2 *Prozac Nation, Doreen (1)*
- 3 *Patrick Gates, Chetty (1)*
- 4 *Rich Kennedy's Rude Awakening, Adams (1)*
- 5 *Edge, Smith (1)*
- 6 *Savage, Green (1)*
- 7 *The Things, Steel (1)*
- 8 *Seize, Rutherford (1)*
- 9 *The Shattered Man, Lasham (1)*
- 10 *The Family Plot, Jordan (1)*

### NONFICTION

- 1 *Synthesizer, Wright (1)*
- 2 *Call Me Anna, Dale (1)*
- 3 *It's All in the Playing, Maclean (1)*
- 4 *The Elusive Beauty of Canada, edited by Brown (1)*
- 5 *Stealing Out, 1939-1941, Series (1)*
- 6 *Rich Kennedy's Rude Awakening, Adams (1)*
- 7 *Canadian Living Cookbook, Progress (1)*
- 8 *Travels: The Legend, Patrick (1)*
- 9 *The Great Depression of 1950, Green (1)*
- 10 *True Film, Cuddy (1)*

(1) Position last week

—Compiled by Sandra McKeir

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# On the streets of New York

By Allan Fotheringham

**T**he thing about New York is that it has such claustrophobia in-order living conditions for most of its inhabitants that it has moved life to the streets. You can buy anything you want on the streets of New York. There is as much food sold on the streets of New York as there is in Targuer. The difference is that in Targuer the residents buy the food on the streets to take home to eat. New Yorkers eat while they walk. From the meat chebureks and freshly squeezed orange juice on Fifth Avenue to the mangoes and apples and peaches at the street carts, New York is an ambulatory picnic.

You can buy all of life's needs on the street. See Tringer. Rolex watches for \$50. At least they are perfect replicas of the \$2,000 jobs you see in *Vogue*. Since the only reason to buy a Rolex is to convince others you have one, a look-alike is sufficient. You can buy all the earrings you'll ever need on Friday night on the street jewelry sweaters. Handbags. A portrait of yourself, done in charcoal. Sandals. Shoes. A Martini could land in Manhattan naked and be clothed with in half an hour—plus fare/shopping tax, apartment—without leaving the sidewalk.

A season or so ago, some of the sidewalk stalls offered stolen computer parts—bits and pieces that proved useless in practice. They were surfaced, altered and polished, as chunky jewelry, the latest fashion item. New York leads the way.

The color this season in New York is black. Don't ask me why. Everywhere you look is black. Sidewalk to sidewalk black. Heavy sociological thinkers always talk about how Paris makes men slaves to fashion. Parisians themselves are the most individualistic in costume you'll ever see. It is, in good, rich New York—where the dentures read too many ads in too many magazines—where rampant lemmingism takes place.

Black is in, on both female and male. *Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.*

"In-line" fashion, I believe it is called. My eyes are glazed, and dazed, from being forced to gaze on so much of the firmament's most boring—and depressing—color. On the weekend, the thing to do is to stroll Solfo (as named not after its London namesake but because Solfo stands for much of Houston Street, its boundary down on the tip of Manhattan, headed toward Staten Island). The cutting edge has long ago abandoned Greenwich Village, the artists and impoverished guitar players driven out because the middle class wanted a fashionable address



and forced up the rents.

So the one hope galleries and the expensive-fringed-and-inexpensive ones have taken over the dimmed warehouses of Solfo and the camp followers have followed. And the sidewalks are full of waves of stockholders, dressed as only hookers used to dress black leather. There is more black leather in Solfo than in Solfo than you'll find in leather bar or a Hal's Angels museum. Black leather, black made, black sweaters trimmed with fur. God meant many things but She didn't mean masters of three to be parading in tight black leather trousers and high heels. I can assure you I talk to Her frequently.

Since New York is at the start of the war, I hope this trend never hits Osaka or Kamloops. You say it's there already? Whoopee.

It is the street when you go uptown. The sidewalk cafe of the Renaissance hotel, opposite the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is possibly the best place

watching perch is town. This is Jackie Onassis country. It's all the same. Black. Shiny suit and black leather. I don't know what the motorcycle gangs do to be different these days, but they must be into tie-dyed shirts.

This brings up writers. New York is one of the few places outside Europe (Manhattan and San Francisco being exceptions) where being a writer is an honorable profession. It is not a position to be occupied by a sorry youth waiting for a real job, or a PhD student needing cash. To be a writer in New York is a lifetime job, middle-aged men doing their job well and with no shame, raising their families, as content and happy as a dentist. It's nice to see.

There's the traffic. No hidden tunnel. No govt and take. Full throttle, stop and reverse. And that's just the sidewalk. New York is the only city in the world where they have hit-and-run pedestrians. It is wonder for a casual outsider who wants to stroll. To stroll in mid-Manhattan on a workday is instant euthanasia.

Otherwise, you don't need a car. You don't need a car because there are no streets. There are bomb craters, obstacle courses, ditches and open manholes, but there are no street surfaces as we know them. No New Yorker I know owns a car. Mine.

But we get back to this pedestrianism about color. New York is the city of imagination, wit, energy and emotion. Why does everyone dress in black? New York is the home of fashion, boasting that it now rivals Paris. If so, why does it already follow some Paris dictum that black is in? Some theorize that it has to do with the end of the Reagan era, a political mourning period at the burial of his goofy Indochina. Surely not every suburban matron dressed like Mac Jagger can be a sorrowful Republican?

If I had my way, everyone in the world would wear red. Red, I'm always accused, is the color of aggression and passion. What's wrong with aggression and passion? It's better than black. Black is the color of death. Why is a New York—rich, powerful, ego-driven New York—obsessed with death?





There's vodka.  
And then there's Smirnoff.



*Friends are worth it.*

